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The chapter's sections are:

CHAPTER XIII

SYRIA AND PALESTINE IN THE LIGHT OF EXTERNAL EVIDENCE

THE history of Syria and Palestine during the sixteenth to eleventh centuries is very largely that of the great surrounding powers whose fortunes have already been described. It is not until we approach the last quarter of the second millennium B.C. that external conditions favour the rise of those independent states which become known to us as Damascus, Israel, Judah, Moab, Edom, etc. But our knowledge of these lands is fragmentary and uncertain; for, although the Old Testament contains the Israelites' own views of the past, any account of the internal conditions must be based upon the 'external' sources. Old ideas of Egypt and south-west Asia have been revolutionized, partly by the Amarna letters (p. 128) and the cuneiform tablets found at Boghaz Keui (p. 253), and partly by the results of excavation in Palestine and Syria (vol. I, pp. 130–134). In the 'tells' of Syria and Palestine—still only very slightly examined—there is material so extensive and so significant that any attempt to describe these lands must be made only with the utmost caution. However, there is already a considerable amount of evidence, direct and indirect, from the 'tells,' and from Egyptian, Babylonian, Hittite and other sources, and it permits us to supplement what has been said in the foregoing chapters, and to secure a starting-point for the investigation of other and far from contemporary sources (*viz.* in the Old Testament).

When Egypt expelled the Hyksos the early interrelations already illustrated in the Romance of Sinuhe (vol. I, p. 227 *sq.*) were renewed with increased vigour, and Syria and Palestine came more or less continuously within the ambit of Egyptian politics. South Palestine and the Sinaitic peninsula tended to gravitate towards Egypt; and a strong Egypt always exerted influence eastwards of the Delta. In the north, however, the tendency was towards Syria, Mesopotamia and Asia Minor; and the general historical situation has much in common with that, centuries later, when Egypt contended with Assyria and Ptolemies with Seleucids to possess the same debatable country. The

physical characteristics of the area have already been described (p. 55 *sq.*). The issue lay between a powerful Egypt struggling, from the time of Thutmose I onward, to extend her power into south-western Asia, and movements from the north, sweeping down, and endeavouring to maintain themselves, not in Egypt itself, as did the Hyksos, but at the very gates of Egypt. On the whole, Egypt found it not too difficult to seize Palestine and south Syria; and then her armies could even be safely transferred to Phoenician ports, as a base for the more serious struggles in the Phoenician *hinterland* and north Syria. Here, in the district of Kadesh on the Orontes (see pp. 56 *sq.*, 74 *sq.*), and farther north, towards Mitanni (pp. 58, 67), Egypt faced more strenuous foes, and encountered powerful coalitions which, indeed, in the time of Thutmose III, once reached as far south as Megiddo. North Syria, with its central position, its native wealth, and its trading intercourse, was the natural link between Egypt, Asia Minor, and Assyria and Babylonia; it was a gateway, a land to be secured as the starting-point for attack; and the fact that Mitanni was also a buffer-state gives it special importance during the period now under survey (cf. pp. 67, 230, 264).

I. THE AMARNA AGE: HATTI AND MITANNI

The letters from Amarna and Boghaz Keui reveal an internationalism, even a certain cosmopolitanism, the extent of which is still only imperfectly known (cf. above, pp. 94, 231). The great powers were in constant communication: they wrote to one another as 'brothers,' they mourned deaths, and they announced or congratulated new accessions. They made elaborate defensive and offensive alliances, and sealed them by intermarriages, taking care, where necessary, to safeguard the position of their married daughters. As occasion demanded, a famous physician would be sent, or a divining-priest, and once, indeed, a renowned builder. Rich presents were given, and boldly demanded—Egypt was notoriously rich in gold—and a letter without a present could be almost a diplomatic incident. They closely scrutinized the quality of the gifts and took notice of the treatment of the messengers—some of whom were veritable ambassadors; they kept a jealous eye, too, upon the frequency of these visits, and saw that they were made with proper state. Thus, the Babylonian king Burnaburiash (Burraburiash) found it disgraceful that Amenhotep IV (Ikhnaton) sent only five chariots to conduct his daughter to Egypt. The messengers and caravans, passing to and fro,

demanded regular routes, and it was frequently necessary to protect them from unruly clans or lawless desert-tribes. Attacks upon caravans were likely to hinder regular intercourse, and therefore friendly relations. Hence an armed escort might be necessary (cf. also Ezr. viii, 21 *sq.*). Trading-relations along the routes would generate a certain political cohesion; but the paths of peace were also those of war, and important trading-tribes might also be dangerous raiders (cf. Midian, Gen. xxxvii, Judg. vi, *sqq.*). Caravan-leaders readily became men of considerable authority—Mohammed himself was one—and the more important trading-posts could form nuclei of a far-reaching 'empire,' as, *e.g.*, when the oasis of Palmyra in the third century A.D. could exert influence into Egypt and west Asia Minor, and stand up against Rome herself.

The importance of Ikhnaton's city of Amarna and of the Amarna letters entitles us to speak of the 'Amarna Age' as a well-defined landmark. The letters belong to the last years of Amenhotep III, and to the reign of at least one of his successors; very few actually name the king, or contain unambiguous indications of date. They paint a picture of profound dissension in Syria—the term may be conveniently used to include Palestine—not indeed such as that which Thutmose III knew how to exploit, when he undertook his grand series of Asiatic campaigns, but one between men loyal to Egypt, and nationalist anti-Egyptian sections. Brothers were divided, chiefs freely impeached one another; they professed the utmost loyalty, but easily changed sides. As the letters themselves are frequently of uncertain sequence and difficult to interpret, it is often impossible for us to sketch the precise course of events. Even for Egypt herself, with a court at which the rival chieftains had their own wire-pullers, the winnowing of the conflicting assurances and inconsistent reports was probably hardly less troublesome than it is for the modern historian.

Egypt, too, was weakened by religious and political differences, at least in the time of Ikhnaton (p. 126 *sq.*); and if her attitude towards the rival chieftains of Syria sometimes seems inexplicable to us, it is to be borne in mind that even in more modern times civilized powers have officially recognized bandit chiefs, and have allowed the desert nomads to levy blackmail upon the peasantry. The scenes of the troubles can be traced along the Phoenician coast, and in Amor, and on lines running down the trade-routes to Jerusalem and Gaza. The chiefs themselves were divided, but the people as a whole readily tended to be anti-Egyptian. Warring

hordes were seizing the townships and land with the connivance of or under the leadership of disloyal chiefs (see above, pp. 107, 123). They include Aramaean nomads (Akhlamū, Sūtū), but are mostly known as *Sa.Gaz* ('robbers'): Abdi-Khiba of Jerusalem styles them Khabiru (Ḥabiru, *i.e.* Hebrews ?). Although we meet with a number of genuine Semitic names (*e.g.* the Amorite rebel chiefs Abd-Ashirta and Aziru), from the extreme north to the south there is a remarkable prominence of non-Semitic names; they point to the earlier presence and influence of ruling classes from Mitannian, Hittite and other districts. In fact, in the north the Hittites, if not also some at least of the Mitannians, were involved in the anti-Egyptian intrigues, and subsequent events would show that a new attempt was being made from the north to capture Syria. At the same time, the part played by the *Sa.Gaz*, or Ḥabiru, and the indications of unrest among the Sūtū, Akhlamū and other peoples of the Mesopotamian desert, point to large movements in which nomad tribes participated, and not improbably with results significant for the internal constitution of Palestine (see pp. 108, 135, and below, p. 369).

The Amarna and Boghaz Keui tablets enable us to see something of the new prominence of the Hittite power (Hatti)—on the name, see p. 252—and the decline of Mitanni. Hattushil of Kussar (the classical Garsaŭra) had laid the foundations of the Hatti empire at the expense of the once powerful Halab (Aleppo), Kissuwadna (? Cilicia, p. 272), Ishuwa, and other districts. This his son Shubbiluliuma (? 1410–1370) proceeded to consolidate, thereby threatening Mitanni, whose king Tushratta twice 'magnified himself' against him, a presumption which ultimately led to the downfall of the old buffer-state. The land of Mitanni very closely corresponded to the Naharin and the Hanigalbat of Egyptian and Assyrian sources respectively; it was distinct from Carchemish, Aleppo, Arzawa, Nukhashshi, but closely connected with the Harri, who had their own language (p. 260). The exact connotation of many of the names has not been finally determined; but it is evident that the greater kingdoms were built up at the cost of smaller ones, which were often at bitter enmity with each other. Mitanni, in fact, had grown up at the expense of its two neighbours, Alshe and Assyria (pp. 230, 237), and both of them were preparing to profit from her misfortunes.

The relations among these greater and lesser states varied from time to time, and naturally affected Amor (which in due course came under the influence of Hatti), and no doubt also

Palestine (p. 262 *sq.*). Mitanni had apparently enjoyed stability under its kings, Shaushshatar, Artatama and Shuttarna. With Egypt it felt itself on an equality. Tushratta's aunt had been married to Thutmose IV, perhaps to confirm the peace with Thutmose III, who indeed claims to have overthrown Mitanni. Mutemuya (only her Egyptian name is known, see p. 92) became the mother of Amenhotep III, who took Tushratta's sister Gilukhipa, though not as his chief wife. Tushratta himself came to the throne after a rising; his brother, Artashumara, had been slain by an anti-Egyptian party under Par-khi (or Tu-khi), and for a time Hatti influence prevailed. However, Tushratta slew the murderers, and at once sent messengers to Egypt to resume the friendly relations which Amenhotep III had had with his father Shuttarna. Hatti was quick to recognize the altered situation, and Shubbiluliuma made a *razzia* against the presumptuous king. In one of his letters Tushratta was able to inform Amenhotep that his god Teshub had given the Hatti into his hand, and he sent, of the booty, chariots and horses for his 'brother' the king, and ornaments and ointments for Gilukhipa. He entreated the king's recognition, and arrangements were made to send his daughter Tadukhipa to the harem, she having first been duly inspected by an Egyptian envoy. After no little haggling over the gold demanded from Egypt—partly as the price for the maiden, partly for some private work upon which he was engaged—the alliance was cemented between Egypt and 'Hanigalbat' (p. 95). According to one of the letters, the goddess Ishtar, 'lady of heaven,' who had been sent to Egypt in the days of his father Shuttarna, now announced her intention, 'to Egypt the land which I love will I go'; but we cannot determine whether it was to bless the nuptial ceremony, or for a later event. The letter in question is marked by an Egyptian registrar as belonging to the thirty-sixth year, and as this would be the year of the death of Amenhotep III, the young widow soon became the wife of Amenhotep IV (Ikhnaton).

The death had important consequences. The queen-dowager was Tiy (p. 106), who, if not of Asiatic origin, as some authorities have thought, was the daughter of a man who had been a prince of Zahi (the Lebanon district and Phoenicia). She took a very prominent part in the correspondence between Egypt and Mitanni, and at once begged the Mitannian envoy Gilia to remind Tushratta of the old friendship between her dead husband and Shuttarna. It was now for Tushratta to maintain with the son the alliance he had had with the father; and to strengthen the relations he asked for an interchange of messengers between Tiy

and his wife Yuni. But the results scarcely proved satisfactory. Ikhnaton did not send the expected gifts, or at least only inferior ones; Mitannian envoys were detained in Egypt, and there are references to intrigues. The king of Egypt has to be told to apply to Tiy for confirmation of his father's friendship with Tushratta, and is besought to maintain this friendship, and not listen to anyone else. The position of Mitanni seems to have weakened. Meanwhile, Ashur-uballiṭ, king of Assyria, in a letter to Ikhnaton, manifested some jealousy at that king's more favourable attitude to the 'Hanigalbatian king,' as he calls him. The Babylonian Burraburiash even alludes to Tiy in terms of dissatisfaction; and in a letter of Kadashman-Kharbe (Letter I, 38) the name Hanigalbat was almost a synonym of contempt. Burraburiash, too, impressed upon Ikhnaton the loyalty of his father Kurigalzu, when Canaanite princelets had sought to gain him on their side against Egypt, and rather pointedly claimed the Assyrians as his vassals (p. 94). And amid all this, the king of Alashiya (cf. Alshe above), writing as an equal—apparently to Ikhnaton—warned him against dealings with Hatti and Shankhar (? Mitanni or neighbourhood). Finally, Shubbiluliuma himself, in a letter to the young ruler, renewed the friendship he had had with his father, meanwhile requesting certain golden images which were due to him from the latter; but of earlier relations with Egypt he says nothing, nor do we know how Ikhnaton replied to the Hittite king who was now troubling his northern frontier. See p. 121 *sq.*

As already mentioned, Tushratta had beaten off the first raid of Shubbiluliuma. On a second raid the Hatti king was met with a threat of reprisals by Tushratta, who claimed the land east of the Euphrates. This he could not tolerate. Ishuwa and other lands he conquered and restored to the realm of Hatti; he entered Alshe, and Tushratta marched out against him, but refrained from fighting. Aleppo (Khalpa) was overpowered, Takuwa of Nia (Niy) submitted, but his brother Akit-Teshub held out with the *Marianni* (nobles?), and with Katna and other cities. Nukhashshi was invaded, and its king, Sharrupshi, having escaped, Takib-sharri, 'the king's servant,' was set up in his place. Kinza (see p. 262 *sq.*) would have been left alone, but Shutatarra with his son, Aitakkama, challenged him, only to be captured. For a year the Hatti ravaged the land; and ultimately Biashshi-ilish, the son of Shubbiluliuma was placed in charge of the districts recovered: Mt Niblani, Ashtati, etc. The fate of Mitanni lay in the balance. Tushratta was slain in a household intrigue headed by his son Artatama, whose son Shutatarra (or Shuttarna) became

king of the Harri, burned the royal palace and freely bribed Alshe and Assyria. Akit-Teshub and his *Marianni* were allied with the Harri, and Shubbiluliuma was alarmed at the unexpected development. His son and Mattiuaza (another son of Tushratta) joined forces and marched against Irrite, beyond Carchemish, which Shuttarna had won over. Mitanni was saved, though only to become vassal of the Hatti (see pp. 122, 238, 268). Rather than see Mitanni fall to pieces between Assyria and Alshe, the Hatti king was acute enough to support Mattiuaza; and a detailed treaty was concluded between the great king and his vassal. It was cemented by Mattiuaza's marriage with the king's daughter, who was to rule as queen, no second wife being allowed—though ten women or concubines are specified. It was also stipulated that the alliance should be maintained with Biashshi-ilish. Mitanni thus came under the suzerainty of the Hatti, and the same is also true of Amor, whose king Azira (*i.e.* Aziru), after turning from Shubbiluliuma to the king of Egypt (Ikhnaton), returned, and had the ancestral boundaries of Amor confirmed under a treaty which lasted through the reigns of the next Hatti kings, Murshil and Hattushil (see p. 318 *sq.*).

All these changes, and in particular the new might of Hatti, affected the princes and petty chiefs of Syria, whose letters in the Amarna archives represent, naturally enough, their own, and often a strikingly local view of affairs. These letters can be divided into two series, the one associated with Abd-Ashirta (or Ashirat) and his sons, the foremost of whom was Aziru, and the other with Aziru alone and with Itakama, probably the son of Shutatarra mentioned above. The former series concerns mainly the Amorite attack on Phoenicia, and the latter the movement against the interior, extending as far south as Jerusalem and beyond.

II. PHOENICIA AND AMOR IN THE AMARNA LETTERS

The history of the Phoenician coast-towns is that of the trading-ports from Simyra to Accho (Ptolemais). These were fed by caravans from the interior—later, Aramaean and Arabian, earlier, probably Amorite—and sent out their fleets along the Mediterranean (p. 57 *sq.*). But sea-power was hardly as yet in their hands: the colonies for which the Phoenicians became famous—as distinct from trading-posts and the like—scarcely became prominent in this period. Sea-power often changed hands in ancient times, and now lay with Aegeans and Egyptians (pp. 278, 441). A medley of peoples, Libyan and other, living along

the Mediterranean litoral and in the 'Isles of the Sea,' were thus brought into trading relations with one another, and in this, as in other periods, filled the ranks of mercenaries, sailors, traders and pirates. The population of the exposed coast-towns of the Levant was naturally a mixed one: such towns were often able to influence the history and culture of the inland. Now, the latter part of the second millennium B.C. is marked by some great concerted anti-Egyptian movements by sea and land of outstanding importance for the history of Syria. In one, now under consideration, the Hatti were prominent, and the consequences led to the increase of Hatti power. Another marks the decay of Hatti, and is associated with the appearance of the Philistines, and their hegemony in Palestine before the rise of the Israelite monarchy. Both movements were doubtless part of larger events in the Levant and in west Asia Minor; and in the second of them the historical kernel of the siege of Troy poems may well have been but an incident (cf. p. 547).

The Amarna letters take us at once into the midst of the first of the movements, and we witness the conflict between the Amorite leaders, Abd-Ashirta and his sons, on the one side, and Rib-Addi of Gebal (Byblus), on the other. This ancient city, long known to Egypt, and claiming for herself an importance equal to that of Memphis, was held by a man whose numerous letters (over fifty in number) vividly depict one type, at least, of Semitic character in the fourteenth century B.C. Apparently they date from the last years of Amenhotep III and the opening years of Ikhnaton; and they present an extraordinary picture of successful intrigue by the Amorite chiefs who, while continuously protesting their loyalty to Egypt, are condemned by Rib-Addi and other loyal chiefs (Tyre, Sidon, etc.) for their attacks upon towns which submit to the Egyptian suzerainty. Rib-Addi himself holds Byblus and a portion of the interior, and claims some authority over the coast-line as far as the great and important rival town of Simyra, which is to be found north of Tripolis, rather than at Botrys. But Byblus, once protected by Egypt, and still consistently loyal, is now beset by land and sea. The Amorites steadily extend their sway over the whole *hinterland*, even as in the eighth century B.C., the important inland city of Hamath included in its kingdom Simyra and other coast-towns. In this way they not only cut off the trade of Byblus but, seizing the northern ports, sent wood, copper and other articles direct to Egypt, thereby greatly enriching themselves. Consequently, Byblus became impoverished, and suffered from starvation; people were sold, and houses stripped of their woodwork in order to buy food from the land of Yarimuta,

the while Abd-Ashirta used his corn with increasing success to buy over the towns (cf. p. 123 *sq.*).

Since the day the father of the Egyptian king left Sidon, so Rib-Addi reported to Egypt, the people, starving and disaffected, had gone over, city after city, to the *Sa.Gaz*. Abd-Ashirta, 'the dog,' had seized Simyra and was steadily becoming stronger. But Rib-Addi's appeals fell on deaf ears, and he found the indifference of Egypt inexplicable. Loyal chieftains were wavering, and Rib-Addi hinted at deserting. Repeatedly he prayed for small detachments of Sherden, or of troops from Melukhkha or from Kash (Nubia), to stiffen the faint-hearted garrisons and encourage the hesitating populace. Aduna of Irkata (Arka)—where the road led to the Orontes valley—and the chiefs of other cities were taken by treacherous mercenaries, and the rest were fearing the same fate. On the other hand, Abd-Ashirta, in his own letters, professed himself the king's servant and house-dog; the king himself had set him over Amor, and he guarded the land for the king, though with difficulty, owing to invaders (? the Harri, Letter LX, 14) who threaten to despoil him. In a letter to the Egyptian prefect Pakhanate, defending himself against his opponents, he explained that Shekhlal mercenaries (? from Sagalassus in Pisidia) had seized Simyra (? for Rib-Addi), and killed the nobles of the palace; but that, hurrying from Irkata, he had succeeded in saving four of them. Throughout, the letters from the contending parties are equally plausible.

Meanwhile, Rib-Addi's list of lost cities grows. The case of Botrys (south of Tripolis) is typical. A messenger, sent with a letter of appeal to the king, returns with empty hands; the town at once revolts, though, as Rib-Addi tells Aman-appa, the king's officer, if the king would only send 300 men the city could be recaptured and the situation saved. But, unluckily for him, Rib-Addi has enemies at court, and Abd-Ashirta is kept acquainted with all that happens, and is the more audacious. Rib-Addi then tried an appeal to the king's *amour-propre*. All the royal lands as far as Egypt will join the *Sa.Gaz*—'Wherefore hast thou held back and thy land has been taken? Let it not be said: "In the days of the regents the *Gaz* (*i.e.* the *Sa.Gaz*) took all lands." Let it not likewise be said in the days to come: "And thou canst not take it!" Further, I have sent for the men of the garrison and for horses, and they are not given. Send back word unto me, or, like Yapa-Addi and Zimrida, I will make an alliance with Abd-Ashirta; then should I be saved alive.... Further, if thou hast not sent back word unto me then will I abandon the city and fall

away together with the men that love me.' Still the king sent no help; and the Amorite called upon his forces to assemble against Byblus at Beth-Ninurta. The position became more critical. In letters to both the king and to the ever-faithful Aman-appa he reported an attempt on his life by one of the Sherden mercenaries; 'he was wounded nine times, but killed the miscreant; a second time he may not escape!' In a special appeal he suggested that the king might buy off the Amorite—he names the sum: a thousand manas of silver and one hundred of gold. His sister and her children he sent to Tyre, but the city deserted to the rebels; and they and the regent, whom he had won over with a gift of copper, were slain. The chief of Sidon, Zimrida, was likewise in league with the Amorite; and to add to all this was the grievance that Zurata of Accho was being more favourably received at court, and had obtained troops for the defence of his own city.

At last the letters to the king and the more outspoken reports to Aman-appa were fruitful. The latter came with a small force and recovered Simyra. Abd-Ashirta fell ill and was killed. The city of Arvad (Aradus) is inculpated by an unknown correspondent, who points out that the Amorite himself had been recognized by the king. But Abd-Ashirta's place was at once taken by his son Aziru. His first step was to aim at Simyra, and the scenes that follow very closely recall those when Abd-Ashirta was the moving spirit. Once more by intrigue and treason city after city falls, and Rib-Addi soon finds himself cut off from the lands of Zalkhi (? north Syria), and from Ugarit, and is unable to export the wood which Egypt requires. More than ever is the unfortunate regent a marked man. The food-situation again grew worse, Aziru stole the cattle, and the people fled elsewhere to find food. Messengers were sent to the grain-stores of Yarimuta, which were under the powerful Yankhamu; and although food was sent at the royal command, it was held up by Yapa-Addi, an implacable enemy, with whom the chief of Byblus had a couple of serious law-suits touching some stolen ships and goods. Even Yankhamu's loyalty to Egypt was doubtful (XCVIII).

A change in the tone of the royal letters suggests that meanwhile there was a new king in Egypt—Ikhnaton. Thus, Rib-Addi pointedly reminds the king that the gods, the Sun-god, and the lady (Baalath), of Gebal have put him on his throne. The king, for his part, manifests a certain querulousness: why does Rib-Addi write so much? why does he complain more than his brethren about the hostility? But Rib-Addi bewails the changed times. 'Once at the sight of an Egyptian the kings of Canaan fled

from before him, but now, the sons of Abd-Ashirta despise the people of Egypt and threaten me with their bloody weapons.' Again, 'when Abd-Ashirta formerly came out against me I was mighty; and behold! now my people are shattered, and I am small.' 'Formerly,' says he, 'when Abd-Ashirta took Simyra, I protected the city alone'; but now the capture of Simyra by Aziru has broken the back of the opposition. It was the old story of intrigue by Egyptian traitors. The sons of Abd-Ashirta had intrigued with the citizens and the Egyptian officer in charge; Ullaza, Ardata and other cities were soon in their hands. The pressure was heavy by land and sea, and troops for the help of Rib-Addi were coolly handed over to Suri (Mitanni); although, as Rib-Addi declared, Mitanni was of old a foe to Egypt (CVIII). Mitanni and Hatti, it should be noticed, are here in league, together with the Amorite chiefs.

The fall of Simyra was followed by anti-Egyptian outbreaks in Byblus; and Rib-Addi, after being repeatedly told to protect himself, now found himself charged with killing some of the royal troops. Pakhura, the Egyptian, whose help he had expected, played the traitor: his troops killed Rib-Addi's Sherden mercenaries, and the city generally was confused and embittered. Abimilki of Tyre strongly supported Rib-Addi, but was hampered by the hostility of his dangerous rival Sidon. Sidon, he informed the king, was collecting ships and men, and Zimrida, the chief of Sidon, had helped in Aziru's seizure of Simyra. The island was cut off from drinking-water (which came from the mainland in boats), from wood, and also from its burial-grounds; for even Uzu (Palaetyrus) was in the hands of the enemy. Some isolated letters from Tyre and Ammunira of Beirut indicate that troops from Egypt were on the way; but the precise date of this intervention cannot be determined, whether after the first or the second capture of Simyra.

At all events, it was to Beirut that Rib-Addi fled in despair. Ten hours after his arrival he sent his son to the court, but four months elapsed before he gained an audience. At last, in two lengthy, moving and well-constructed pieces of composition—probably the last of the long series—he gives a rapid *résumé* of recent events. The fall of Simyra had indeed been the last straw. He himself was old and ill; the gods had turned against him, and he had confessed his sins. Byblus was rent in two. His wife and household urged him to surrender, and his younger brother headed the anti-Egyptian faction. In vain he tried to put down the revolt, until the people cried: 'How long can we withstand

the sons of Abd-Ashirta? Our silver is given to the foe; how long wilt thou continue to kill us?' So he fled, and, once outside, was prevented from re-entering, and was given out for dead. His wives and sons were handed over to Aziru. But even Beirut was being threatened—although Rib-Addi was not without hope of rescue, if only the king had 'another heart.' He himself had still some followers. The temples of Byblus were still rich, and the rebellious city was not so powerful as to be able to withstand the king's forces. And should men say there is no food for the troops—well, it can be had in the other cities! So the old chief made his plea, breathing loyalty to the last—'and (when) I indeed am dead, and my sons, servants of the king, do live, and they write to the king: "give us back our city," why hath my lord withheld himself from me?' Thus was Byblus to find Egypt, as the Israelites did in their day, a bruised reed and a vain help; and it is significant that a couple of centuries later, when Wen-amon paid his famous visit, its king Zakar-baal had the scantiest respect for the authority of the Nile empire (p. 192).

The sequel is disclosed in an important letter from the king of Egypt to Aziru, 'the man of Amor.' The unfortunate Rib-Addi, it seems, at length found himself in Sidon, and fell into the hands of Aziru, who handed him over to his brother-chieftains. His fate is not stated. At least the king condemns Aziru; although he obviously feels that Amor was too powerful and Aziru too crafty; and the letter is an illuminating example of hesitating diplomacy. He had heard that Aziru and 'the man of Kidsha (Kadesh),' *i.e.* Itakama, had had a covenant-meal together. This he deprecates: 'If thou doest service for thy lord the king, what then is there that the king will not do for thee? If thou for any cause longest to do evil, or if thou settest evil, even words of hatred, in thine heart, then wilt thou die, together with all thy family, by the axe of the king. Then do service for thy lord the king and thou art (saved) alive, and know thou that the king desireth not that the whole land of Canaan should be in turmoil[1].'

Aziru, summoned to the king, submissively appealed to Dudu, who was at the court, beseeching him to protect him from the slander of those who, as we know from Rib-Addi's letters, re-

[1] No. CLXII, 32–41. The last words may otherwise mean that the king will allow Aziru freedom if only he will be obedient, as 'the whole land of Canaan is too extensive' for him to reign over it himself (see Knudtzon, p. 1268). Here and elsewhere words have been supplied to fill up broken, illegible or doubtful places, or to make the meaning clear.

garded him and his father as interlopers. 'The lands of Amor are thy lands and my house is thy house, and all that is thy wish do thou write and I will give thee thy wish.' The letters between Aziru and Egypt refer to the rebuilding of Simyra; it was perhaps the condition of his recognition by Egypt. But Aziru, while protesting his loyalty and expressing his willingness to send wood and tribute, condemns the hostility of the nobles of Simyra—much as Abd-Ashirta had done before him—and excuses his delay by the threatening advance of Hatti invaders, who were already in Nukhashshi and Tunip. But it is thoroughly characteristic of these kaleidoscopic scenes that Khatib, an Egyptian envoy, who on one occasion is commended by Aziru, is at another time accused by him of making off with some money and goods sent by the king, and of instigating the kings of Nukhashshi to take his cities. Another messenger, Khani, was sent from Egypt, but Aziru avoided him by going to Tunip. He explained, however, to the king that his brothers and Batti-ilu had loyally received Khani and had given him horses and asses for the journey. His absence was not intentional—'thy gods and Shamash know indeed whether I was not dwelling in Tunip.' And when the question was pointedly put: 'Why didst thou attend to the messenger of the king of Hatti, but my messenger hast thou not tended?' he was clever enough to send, instead of excuses, an effective promise of tribute. An undated tablet from the 'Children (*i.e.* inhabitants) of Tunip' to the king throws some light on the 'other side.' They appeal for help from Aziru, who, after his capture of Simyra, is coming to treat them as he treated Niy; and they lament that for twenty years they had besought the return of the son of Aki-Teshub. The name of the father, it will be seen, reminds us of Akit-Teshub, the brother of the king of Niy, who had been defeated by Shubbiluliuma (p. 301 above).

Khani was again sent to Aziru, and brought a list of the king's enemies to be despatched to Egypt in fetters. Since the names seem to be, partly at least, Egyptian, they may be (as Hall suggests) fugitives from the religious zeal of Ikhnaton. It would certainly be illuminating if an Egyptian party, opposed to Ikhnaton, were involved in these disturbances, especially as in north Syria we shall find evidence for the presence of various Egyptian princes. At all events, Aziru, placed between the two great powers in the north and the south, was playing an ambiguous *rôle*, and the king of Egypt, while not above making threats, holds out, as we have seen, an offer of peace.

In due course Aziru went to Egypt after having extracted

through Dudu an oath that he would not be harmed. A letter from one of his sons, appealing for his return, states that the kings of Nukhashshi are taunting him: 'Thy father hast thou sold for gold to the king of Egypt, when will he send him out of Egypt?' All the lands and the Sutu bedouins, confident that Aziru would not return, commenced hostilities. A letter from Batti-ilu (Aziru's brother), apparently to Aziru himself, reports progress. The country is in tumult, cities of Amki have been seized by Lupakku, but prompt measures are being taken: 'Our Lord, set not trouble in thy heart, make not thy heart to be troubled.' To the tablet is appended another letter: 'Unto Rab-ili and Abd-urash, unto Ben-ana and Rab-zidki (? associates of Aziru), Amur-ba'alu hath spoken saying "Peace be upon you! Let not your heart be vexed and take not anything to your heart, and here among your houses be peace in abundance," and speak peaceably unto [*i.e.* greet] Anati.'

Letters from the other side warn the king against the new chief of Byblus (? Rib-Addi's disloyal brother). They recapitulate the crimes of Aziru: these prove to be the murder of the kings of Ammia, Irkata and Ardata, which, however, had been previously attributed in other letters to Abd-Ashirta! They assure him that, although Aziru was in Egypt and was being recognized by the king, he was acting disloyally, sending troops to support Itakama and to seize the lands of Amki.

Thus did Aziru play a double game, acting as though he were, to use the words of Rib-Addi, king of Hatti, or Mitanni, or Kash. Subsequently, as we learn from Shubbiluliuma, Aziru renounced whatever pro-Egyptian tendencies he had had, and, returning to his Hittite allegiance, was graciously forgiven and the Hittite-Amorite understanding confirmed (pp. 263 *sq.*, 302, 318 *sq.*).

The Amorite movement had its tentacles along the Phoenician coast, in Syria and in Palestine. Leaving the coast-lands, we have now to trace the events in the Lebanons and Palestine.

III. THE LEBANONS AND PALESTINE IN THE AMARNA LETTERS

Somewhere in north Syria, on the road to Hatti, lived the royal prince Zikar. Another Syrian prince was Biruaza, perhaps the Biriamaza, whom Burraburiash charged with plundering his caravan, in league with Pamakhu, an Egyptian official (pp. 125, 313). The queen Tiy herself was perhaps partly of Syrian origin, and not too highly respected by that king. It is not impossible,

therefore, that we may recognize a group of Egyptian princes in a region already familiar from the story of Sinuhe (vol. I, p. 229). Complaints of Hatti inroads come from Nukhashshi, where Adad-nirari, a prince with a characteristically Assyrian name, states that the king of Egypt's grandfather, *Manakhbi(r)ia* (Thutmose III), had anointed his grandfather Taku. It may be more than a coincidence that the last name resembles Takuwa of Niy, who was perhaps a grandson (p. 301), and that Takuwa's brother, Akit-Teshub, who with his allies of Katna and other cities withstood the Hatti, recalls in name the father of the exiled prince of Tunip mentioned above (p. 308). From Katna itself the loyal Aki-izzi, whose letters are distinguished by some Hittite or Mitannian words, writes to Nam-mur-ia (Amenhotep III) of the depredations of the Hatti; and we hear of a coalition of kings in Mitanni to oppose the enemy. A hostile alliance, consisting of Aziru, Aitugama (*i.e.* Itakama, of Kadesh), Teuwati, Arzawaia and Dasha, is ravaging Ube (? Damascus), Amki and Mar (*Amor*, LV, 23); Itakama himself is spoken of as a veritable Hatti vassal. But Aki-izzi, and the kings of Niy, Zinzar and Yunanat, place themselves at the disposal of Egypt, and await the arrival of the royal troops.

The details are not clear. Kadesh—presumably that on the Orontes—is the old centre of disaffection (p. 56 *sq.*). The name Nukhashshi recalls the city or district of Nuges of the time of Thutmose III, although, if the latter place is to be confined to the Lebanons, the former would seem to be farther north (see p. 262). It is associated with Aleppo, Kinza, Kissuwadna, and, to judge from its name, was a 'copper' district. Hadadezer of Zobah, whom David defeated, controlled rich copper supplies in a district bordering on Hamath[1]. The location of Zobah is disputed; there may have been two of the name, one south of Damascus, the other in the neighbourhood of Hamath. But Zobah may well have varied in size from time to time, and since the same is true of Nukhashshi, we need not hesitate to identify the two names. Niy (south of Naharin) and Zinzar (Sezar) are also named by Amenhotep II with Aleppo, Carchemish, Katna and Kadesh (see above, p. 89). From his own records we know that Shubbiluliuma helped Sharrupshi of Nukhashshi against Mitanni; but later found himself obliged to attack him (p. 301), subsequently making an offensive and defensive alliance with a new king, Teitte, against

[1] 2 Sam. viii, x., 1 Chron. xviii. The name of Hadadezer's rival, the king of Hamath, Tōʿī or, rather, Tōʿū, is connected, by some authorities, with that of Taku (above). Cf. also Tagi, p. 312.

Egypt, Karduniash (Babylonia), the Harri and others. The treaty in question is of special interest because it includes among the participating gods the gods of the Habiru.

In the fighting that took place brothers were divided. One loyalist complains that he was driven out of his 'father's house,' Tubikhi (cf. Tibḥath, rich in copper, 1 Chron. xviii, 8), by a rebellious brother who was seducing the cities, rousing the lands of Amor, and handing the people over to the *Sa.Gaz*. Both sides, as usual, alike declare themselves loyal; and while Aki-izzi tells the Pharaoh how the 'man of Kadesh' had spoiled Namyaza, Itakama's complaint is that his brother Namiawaza (the two names are doubtless identical) had taken away his 'father's house' from Kadesh onwards, and burnt his cities. Namiawaza, in pointing to the loyalty of his ancestors, mentions his father Shuttarna. The name recalls that of the royal house of Tushratta, and suggests that he was of princely blood[1]. He guards the caravans to Naharin with his brothers; and with his warriors, chariots, *Sa.Gaz* and Sutu-troops, places himself at the king's disposal. Preparations were made to receive the royal troops, and letters reach Egypt from Artamanya of Zir-Bashan, Abdi-milk of Shaskhim, and the chiefs of Kanah (in Asher, Josh. xix, 28), Dubu (cf. Tob, Judg. xi, 3) and Naziba (near Merom?). One writer states that he guards the roads to Busrun; and the chief of Hazor (Abdi-Tirshi) seems almost to expect the king himself. Troops in fact arrived, and the sequel is characteristic of the turmoil. One Aiab reports that the chief of Hazor had robbed him of three of his cities; Abimilki of Tyre too states that the chief of Hazor had gone over to the *Sa.Gaz*. Itakama wrote to complain that his brother handed over to the *Sa.Gaz* the king's cities in Takhash (cf. the Aramaean Taḥash, Gen. xxii, 24) and Ube (Damascus); but he himself, with the help of the king's gods and his Sun-god, recovered them and drove out the foe. On the other side, Namiawaza reports that the royal troops were wantonly given to the *Sa.Gaz* by Biridashwa (?cf. Dasha above, p. 310), who with Arzawaia was destroying Abi (? = Ube); we may conjecture that both of them were brothers of Itakama. Namiawaza himself had been driven out of Yanuamma (Yenoam), and the enemy gained Ashtarti (? Ashtaroth, *i.e.* Tell 'Ashtarah), Busrun (22 m. south-east of Edrei) and Khalunni (Nahr el-'Allān near Ashtaroth). Namiawaza, however, boldly proclaimed himself 'servant of the

[1] Especially if the name of the grandfather (....*tar*, No. CXCIV, 10) is really Sha-ush-sha-tar (see p. 300), although there is hardly room for this spelling.

king of Egypt,' and at Kumid (probably in the north of Hermon) maintained the Egyptian cause. The scenes are partly to the north of Palestine, while the three lost cities lay in the region of Decapolis, a well-defined province (cf. 1 Kings iv, 13), subsequently visited by both Ramses II and Seti I. It was a district of considerable political importance, and Seti's monument at Tell esh-Shihāb is about one hour east-south-east of Muzeirib, the meeting-place of roads from Damascus, Nawa, Edrei, Jebel 'Ajlun and Gadara. We are at the confines of Egyptian influence east of the Jordan, and the fact that cities are handed over to the *Sa.Gaz* instead of to the king points to determined efforts, presumably by forces from without, to thrust back the Egyptian frontier.

In central and southern Palestine the leader of the anti-Egyptian party was Labaya, whose letters are strongly coloured by some non-Semitic language, and whom we may identify with the writer of a letter in the Arzawa language. Arzawa itself lay in the north, like Kissuwadna, within the Hittite horizon (p. 272); and we have a polite letter from Nimuria (Amenhotep III) to its king, Tarkhundaraba, sending gifts and requesting his daughter in marriage and also better gifts than he had received before.

The 'sons of Labaya' were in league with the 'sons of Arzaia'; but it is uncertain whether the last name is to be identified with Arzawa, or with the rebel Arzawaia of Rukhizzi (mentioned by Aki-izzi above), or with Arzaya who was among the nobles rescued by Abd-Ashirta from Simyra (p. 304). At all events, these allies, who have very definite northern connections, co-operated with Tagi (see p. 310 n. 1); and his son-in-law Milki-ili; and all are denounced by Abdi-Khiba of Jerusalem as leaders of the Habiru (the enemy invariably named by him instead of the *Sa.Gaz*). Labaya, like the rest, vaunted the loyalty of his forefathers, and it is perhaps his son Mut-baal who sends the caravans along to Hanigalbat (Mitanni) and Karduniash (Babylonia), and is the author of an interesting report to the vizier Yankhamu on the situation in south Palestine (p. 316). Labaya himself, for a time at least, seems to have had his centre at Shechem, but he also had connections with Beth-shean and Gezer, so that he must have controlled central Palestine. His ally, Tagi, together with an unnamed brother, also guarded the caravans; he too had some authority in the south, and, in fact, it is at Aijalon, about 14 miles west-north-west of Jerusalem, and a noted trade-route and battle-field, that a caravan of Abdi-Khiba was attacked, and that the sons of Milki-ili (who was at one time opposed to Labaya) were

nearly killed by the *Sa.Gaz*. The events appear to be spread over a number of years; and, as before, there are several indications of the movement of Egyptian troops to restore order[1].

The famous plain of Jezreel was, as ever, the centre of much warlike activity. Labaya, with mercenaries of the *Sa.Gaz* and Kashshi, captured a number of cities, and forced Yashdata, the king of Taanach, to flee to Biridiya of Megiddo. Biridiya, according to a Louvre Tablet (AO 7098), also controlled Shunem (east of Megiddo), and was in touch with Yapu (Joppa, or possibly Yāfa, near Nazareth). But Megiddo itself was likewise in peril. Eventually Egyptian forces arrived and a victory was won, but with unsatisfactory results. Biridiya succeeded in taking Labaya; but Zurata of Accho, who undertook to ship the prisoner to Egypt, released him at Khinatuna (Hannathon), at the same time freeing another important captive and *soi-disant* 'loyalist,' Ba'lu-mikhir (Baal-mi'ir) of Tienni. It was at Hannathon, east of Accho, and on the northern border of what became the seat of the tribe of Zebulun that the caravans of Burraburiash were plundered with loss of life by Shutatna, son of Sharātum. In this outrage Shutatna had been associated with Shum-Adda, son of Ba-lum-mi, who may be identified with a certain Shumu-khadi detained in Egypt because his name was 'evil before the king' (XCVII). As Sharātum is doubtless our Zurata, both father and son scarcely appear to be loyal to Egypt. We have already seen how Rib-Addi felt that Accho was favoured at his expense; now it is Biridiya of Megiddo who asks 'what have I done to the king that he lightly esteems (*killel*) me, and honours (*kibbed*) my younger brother?' Indeed, we find Zatatna of Accho (*i.e.* Shutatna) asking the king whether Shuta, the Egyptian official, was entitled to command him to hand over to Namiawaza Zirdamiashda, a refugee from Megiddo. Thus, while Abd-Ashirta and his sons were threatening the Phoenician coast, farther south, Accho, if it was not actively supporting the anti-Egyptian movement on the great trade-routes, was playing a part that was hardly acceptable to the pro-Egyptian chiefs, although the Egyptian court itself apparently had no suspicions.

At one time or another—and unfortunately we cannot co-ordinate the events—the anti-Egyptian party had gained both sides of the Jordan and the coast-lands. Labaya had attacked

[1] A letter (CCLIV), in which Labaya protests his loyalty, excuses his entry into Gezer, and hands over Dumuia (? his son) who had deserted to the *Sa.Gaz*, is dated by the Egyptian scribe in the year 10 + 2 . . . that is, not of Amenhotep III (1411–1375), but rather of his successor (1375–1358). In that year Ikhnaton's officer Huy records the receipt of tribute from Kharu, *i.e.* Palestine (Breasted, *Ancient Egyptian Records*, II, sec. 1015) See p. 125.

Shunem, Burkun (? Bene-Berak), Gath-Rimmon (near Joppa), Gitpadalla (Gath-?) and Kharabu (? Arrābe, south of Jenin). At Gina (En-Gannim, modern Jenin) he was killed, and his sons at once continued his policy and tried in vain to compel Addu-Ḳarradu, who had recovered Gitpadalla for the king, to join them. Addu-Ḳarradu, in reporting this to the king, insinuates that Namiawaza (whom we have known as the king's loyal servant) is not quite sincere in his endeavours against the enemy. The 'mistress' of Lebaoth (? or Chephirah), the only chieftainess mentioned in the Letters (CCLXXIII), states that the *Sa.Gaz* took Ṣabuma (Zeboim) and raided Aijalon and Zorah. Among the appeals that reach the king Dagan-takala cries for deliverance from the *Sa.Gaz*—the 'robbers,' as he calls them—and the Sutu. Addu-dani reports that Beia, the son of Gulate, plundered Gezer, laying a heavy ransom upon the captives, and carried away the men that were being sent to Joppa on the king's service; and from Gezer itself Yapakhi, threatened by *Sa.Gaz* and Sutu, writes that his young brother had joined the *Sa.Gaz*; and the whole land of . . . annaki (?) was hostile.

Maia, one of the royal officers, travelled round with instructions for the chiefs; and letters reach Egypt expressing loyalty and a readiness to prepare for the troops. Steps were taken to put down the revolt, and we hear of a payment of 1400 pieces of silver to a royal prefect, as compensation for some thirteen Egyptians whom the *Sa.Gaz* had wounded (No. CCCXIII). Various prisoners were also despatched to Egypt. But Addu-dani has to complain that Maia took out of his hands the city of Manakhate, which he had fortified in readiness for the troops, and he requests that Rianap should be ordered to restore the city. Rianap is the prefect named by Widia of Askalon, and by Pu-Baal of Yurṣa (who had been robbed and could not send his caravan to Egypt). Thus, the scenes are laid along the main routes in the western lowlands (the Shephelah); and Addu-dani, who was perhaps connected with Gath, is one of those who prepare to send a caravan to the king. In his city Manakhate we should probably recognize Manahath, which, in the O.T., is closely associated with Zorah, and, which, according to Israelite tradition, was the camping-station of a band of 600 Danite warriors in the course of their advance from their southern home into north Palestine[1].

[1] Reading Manahath-Dan for Mahaneh-Dan in Judg. xiii, 25, xviii, 12, cf. 1 Chron. ii, 52, 54. Both Bene-Berak and Gath-Rimmon (above) are ascribed later to the Southern Dan. On the Danite movement, see also below, pp. 388, 396.

Gradually the revolt spread southwards and Jerusalem itself was threatened. For a time Abdi-Khiba of Jerusalem, Shuwardata of Keilah, Zurata of Accho (above), Endaruta (?) of Achshaph, together with Milki-ili, made common cause; and appeal was made for Yankhamu[1]. Then the situation changed and Abdi-Khiba lost his support. He has to warn the king that, through the intrigues of Milki-ili and the sons of Labaya, Gezer, Askalon and Lachish are hostile to Egypt; and another writer reports that Lachish had seized Mukhrashti (its eastern neighbour Mareshah). Milki-ili and Shuwardata hired men of Gezer, Gimti (Gath) and Kilti (Keilah), and seized the land of Rubute (? Rabbah, near Kirjath-jearim). The whole land fell away to the Habiru. Determined efforts were made against Jerusalem itself. 'A city of the land of Jerusalem, whose name is Beth-Ninurta, a city of the king, has gone over to the people of Keilah': so laments Abdi-Khiba, as he depicts the steady aggression of Tagi and other Habiru leaders. And, as if this were not enough, the troops which the king despatched were held back by Addaia in Gaza.

Abdi-Khiba, surrounded by intrigue, even questions the loyalty of the great Yankhamu himself:

> What have I done unto my lord the king? Men slander me before my (?) lord the king, (saying) 'Abdi-Khiba hath fallen away from his lord the king.' See, as for me, neither my father nor my mother have set me in this place; the mighty arm of the king hath caused me to enter into the house of my father. Wherefore should (I) sin against my (?) lord the king? While my lord the king liveth, I will say unto the prefect of (my) lord the king: 'Why lovest thou the Habiru and hatest the governors?' And so men malign me before my lord the king! When one says: 'The lands of my lord the king are lost,' so do they malign me before my lord the king! But may my lord the king know this: when my lord the king set a garrison, Enkhamu (*i.e.* Yankhamu) took it (?) all (?).

The other side of the picture is presented by Shuwardata of Keilah, who, with Milki-ili, had been denounced by Abdi-Khiba. In a series of seven letters Shuwardata, without naming the *Sa.Gaz*, appeals for help against a league of thirty hostile cities —citing Yankhamu as witness on his behalf. 'Labaya is dead who took our cities, but, see, another Labaya is Abdi-Khiba, and he takes our cities.' He himself had been sent by the king to make war against Keilah and had recovered it; but the king of Jerusalem had tried to win the men of Keilah back to his side with bribes. He himself had done no harm, 'let the king ask

[1] We owe this important fact mainly to the 'Amarna letter' recently published by Thureau-Dangin (AO 7096; *Rev. Ass.* XIX, 98 *sqq.*).

whether I have ever taken a man or an ox or an ass from him' (cf. 1 Sam. xii, 3). Amid such charges and counter-charges, the one fact that stands out clearly is the prominence of Jerusalem, an important centre, which was evidently endeavouring to exploit the situation after the death of Labaya.

It would seem that Tagi and his friends were as influential and powerful as Aziru himself. For Tagi, who never fails to protest his loyalty, sent to the king an envoy who had the privilege of a personal interview—for which poor Abdi-Khiba begged in vain—and returned with sundry gifts. Even Milki-ili was in a position to write and ask for healing-myrrh. In such circumstances it is difficult to follow the events with any confidence, and it must suffice to conclude with two representations, the one by the unhappy Abdi-Khiba, and the other by Mut-baal, perhaps a son of Labaya, who, as has been mentioned, had some control over the caravan-route to Mitanni and Babylonia, and was of doubtful allegiance to Egypt. Mut-baal sent what must have been a valuable report to Yankhamu, briefly narrating the situation. It is worth quoting as a specimen (No. CCLVI):

> Speak unto Yankhamu, my lord, saying: 'Mut-ba'lu thy servant (hath spoken), saying: "At the two feet of my lord have I fallen down. How hath Mut-ba'lu spoken before thee, saying: Ayāb hath fled as the king of Bikhishi hath fled from before the regents of his lord the king? May my lord the king live, may my lord the king live, if Ayāb is in Bikhishi (*i.e.* as my lord the king liveth, Ayāb is *not* in Bikhishi). Behold! two months. . . Of a truth(?) ask Benenima, of a truth (?) ask Yadua, of a truth (?) ask Yashuya whether, since Silim-Marduk (a compound name, analogous to Shelem-iah) hath stolen Ashtarti, he hath fled away, when all the cities of Gari, Udumu (Duma, south of Hebron?), Aduri (Adoraim, west of Hebron), Araru (Aroer, S.E. of Beersheba?), Meshtu, Magdalim (Migdal-Gad, east of Askalon?), Khinyanabi ('well of Anab,' S. Judah?) and Zarki (east of Maon?) are hostile, and when Khawini (south-west of Maon?) and Yabishiba are captured. Further: behold! after thou has written a 'tablet' unto me, have I written unto him. Even before thine arrival from thy journey, then, behold! he will have arrived in Bikhishi and will hear thy words."'

If the identifications are correct the area concerned apparently lay to the south and south-west of Jerusalem; and Winckler's view that the 'land of Gari' refers to Kharu (the Egyptian name for south Palestine), and is identical with that of the Horites, has much in its favour (see vol. 1, p. 235). This district would naturally concern Abdi-Khiba, who is usually full of complaints against Labaya and other anti-Egyptian leaders. But Shuwardata of Keilah, as we have seen, denounces the king of Jerusalem as 'another Labaya,' and since Mut-baal, who was perhaps Labaya's

son, does not name the Habiru, Sutu or *Sa.Gaz*, it is not improbable that his report refers to the activities of Abdi-Khiba. And as it is addressed to Yankhamu, of whose loyalty Abdi-Khiba is not a little suspicious, it is further probable that this great officer was hand-in-hand with the anti-Egyptian leaders. His attitude to Rib-Addi was certainly not always above reproach (p. 305), and to the fact that his name marks him out as a Semite, and not an Egyptian, it may be added that the high-official Dudu, upon whom the wily Aziru relied, has also a Semitic name, which indeed recalls that of David (cf. p. 323).

In any event, we may recognize Jerusalem as an influential city with extensive interests, exposed to the attacks of hostile neighbours in the west and the north—corresponding to the Philistines and (north) Israelites of a later time—and ready to seize any opportunity to extend its influence. But only on the part of Labaya, Tagi, Milki-ili and their associates do we find any indication of concerted action and unity of purpose over the whole land; and if the letters of Abdi-Khiba are really the latest, they give a melancholy picture of his own waning might. He makes many accusations; and he has many enemies who pursue him ruthlessly. They hinder him from coming to the king, and Kashshi troops had even attempted to kill him. Yet, he declares, he is in the right (*ṣaduḳ*) as regards these bandits! As far as the lands of Seir, and as far as Gath-Carmel, the lands had revolted and were hostile to him. Tagi had got the land of Gath-Carmel and the men of Gimti (Gath) were in occupation of Beth-shean. 'When there was a ship on the sea the mighty arm of the king held Nah(a)rin and Kapasi (?), but now the Habiru hold the king's cities: the king has no regent left, all are lost[1].' 'The king has set his name upon the land of Jerusalem for ever, therefore can he not forsake the lands of Jerusalem.' But the appeal was in vain; his enemies had gained the king's ear, and the men who controlled or captured the great trade-routes won the day.

Such is the general picture of disturbance by land and sea which the Amarna letters provide. A few crucial pieces of evidence would settle the many obscure questions of date, order and locality. The situation in its broad outlines is characteristic. At other periods and with other actors pro- and anti-Egyptian factions split the land, and determined attempts to utilize such factions were no exception in old Oriental politics. Whether the amiable and peace-loving Ikhnaton is to be held responsible for

[1] Knudtzon's translation ('I once had a ship on the sea when the mighty...') is not generally accepted (CCLXXXVIII, 32–40).

the confusion in Syria and Palestine may be questioned; and if he was weak, the queen-mother Tiy was a resolute woman and not without authority. In any case, these letters have the advantage of allowing us to look behind the scenes in a way that is impossible when, as, *e.g.* in the case of the Old Testament, sources have been deliberately selected and shaped, in order to present particular views of the past. They enable us to visualize something of the ebb and flow of life, and to gain through the heterogeneous mass of protests and declarations some knowledge of the psychology of the people, which adds immensely to our understanding of those relatively late narratives upon which our conception of the ancient Hebrews has hitherto been based. But before we turn to notice more closely the life and thought of the Amarna age it will be convenient to supplement the preceding chapters by a rapid survey of the subsequent external history down to the close of our period.

IV. OUTLINE OF HISTORY FROM FOURTEENTH TO ELEVENTH CENTURY B.C.

In the south, as we learn from Harmhab's tomb, starving, homeless Asiatics poured into Egypt, beseeching the king to grant them a home, and to send forth his mighty sword (see p. 125 above). The situation appears to have been temporarily relieved, but Harmhab, who was a great administrator, like Hammurabi of Babylon, though on a smaller scale, was fully occupied with his labours on behalf of Egypt. For a time Asia was left to itself, and conditions grew worse. It remained for Seti I to resume the old Egyptian policy, and reconquer Palestine.

In the meantime the Hatti king, Shubbiluliuma seems to have remained in touch with Egypt, and concluded a treaty, perhaps with Harmhab himself (p. 134). Previously, the widow of the short-lived Tutenkhamon, appears to have offered to marry a son of a Hatti king (p. 130); outwardly, friendly relations between Egypt and Hatti evidently prevailed. Shubbiluliuma, after a long reign (? 1411–1359), was followed by Arnuandash and, a few years later, by Murshil (? 1355–1330). In an alliance with Shunashshura of Kissuwadna Murshil restored it to independence, confirming its ancient boundaries (p. 264). Aleppo, too, must be subdued, and a treaty was concluded with its king Rimisharma, by both Murshil and his son Mutallu. Aziru, as we know, submitted to the Hatti (p. 309). His successors, Idin-Teshub, Abbi-Teshub and Bantishinna, seized the throne one after the other, remaining loyal to Hatti; and the last-mentioned married the princess Gashshuliauie, the daughter of another son of Murshil, named

Hattushil, whose son, Nerikka-ilim, was married to Bantishinna's daughter. Hattushil's queen Pudukhipa was a princess of Kissuwadna. Thus was maintained the Amorite and Hittite connection which became traditional in Palestine (cf. Ezek. xvi and see vol. I, p. 233 *sq.*).

When Seti came to the throne (1314) the situation in Palestine recalls that of the Amarna letters. The Shasu ('plunderers')—already met with in the time of Thutmose III—were up in arms in Palestine; but it is not quite clear whether there was once more a civil war within the land, or whether the weakened state of Palestine had invited a bedouin invasion of which the Amarna letters give the opening scenes (cf. p. 135). In his first year, Seti marched through Canaan, smiting, among other cities, Accho, Beth-Shael (Beth-shean), Yenoam, Tyre and Uzu, Kemed (Kumid), Ullaza and Simyra. He claimed conquests over Hatti, Naharin and Alasa, and stormed a city in the land of Kode (see p. 137). His monuments have been found at Beth-shean and at Ḥomṣ (Emesa); and one at Tell esh-Shihāb in the Decapolis indicates that Egyptian forces were east of the Jordan, as already in the Amarna period. Only a few miles farther north stands the so-called 'Stone of Job,' which commemorates his successor, Ramses II (see pp. 148, 312). Of special interest is the fact that both kings mention, among places in the interior of Phoenicia, Asaru, which is presumably Asher, later the name of one of the tribes of Israel. In spite of the treaty-relations between Hatti and Egypt, the former launched a mighty attack upon Egypt. The effort of the northern power to collect as many confederate states as possible is seen in the lists preserved by the Egyptians (p. 141). Also, in the Egyptian list of the fleeing enemy we encounter a number of typical names of Hatti or Asia Minor affinity. None the less, so little effective was the Egyptian victory that the anti-Egyptian revolt spread to the south. Askalon, among other cities, was stormed, and a relief depicts the defenders with Hittite features. Similarly, Deper (Tabor) in the land of Amor is represented as being in Hittite hands (p. 148).

The famous treaty between Ramses II and Hattushil ignores the minor peoples, except in so far as some reference is made to their gods (*viz.* in the case of Tyre; see p. 266). But no mention is made of the gods of the *Sa.Gaz* or of the Habiru, as in the treaties of Shubbiluliuma with Mitanni and Nukhashshi. Urkhi-Teshub, whom Hattushil had ousted at his accession, attempted to stir up strife, but (in a Boghaz Keui tablet) Ramses informs the king of Mira (Maer) that he faithfully adheres to the

treaty-obligations. Amor, we may suspect, was again playing an ambiguous *rôle*. How important it then was, is seen in Hattushil's letter to the Kassite Kadashman-Enlil, which not only shows that Hattushil was in alliance with Babylonia during his campaigns against Egypt, but represents his *protégé*, Bantishinna, as exercising influence up to the very borders of Babylonia itself. In the same letter we read of unrest, both among the Akhlamū nomads (already named in the Amarna letters), and on the part of Assyria. It is about this time, when Urkhi-Teshub is often mentioned in the Boghaz Keui texts, that Shalmaneser I (1276–1257) marched westwards against the Hatti, and their Akhlamū allies, fighting Shattuara, king of Hani (compare the name Shuttarna, p. 241), and visiting Harran, Carchemish and Muṣri (? Cappadocia). See also p. 259.

We approach the age of the decline of both Hatti and Egypt, and the increasing unrest among the isles. The mercenaries whom Egypt had trained to war were growing stronger than their masters, and Merneptah (1225–1215) was faced with a powerful combination by land and sea. Egypt, the old storehouse of grain, must needs send food to the impoverished Hatti, who, it would seem, were actually involved in the movements of the Sea-peoples. Some Shasu of Edom were also being allowed to enter and pasture their cattle near Pithom (p. 154). Merneptah's triumphant ode of victory is celebrated both for its literary style and for its allusions to Palestine (p. 169). It contains the earliest mention of Israel (using the sign that denotes a foreign people); but the phrase 'her seed is not' is a conventional expression which does not necessarily refer to a settled agricultural people. Nor need it be a punning reference to Jezreel—as though central Palestine was more specifically Israelite—although *Kharu* (Palestine) is likened to a *Khare* (widow), and Yenoam is made 'as a thing that is naught' (? cp. in the Amarna letters, *ianu mimma*, 'there is nothing'). 'The Canaan' of the inscription appears to be a southern locality. Little can be based upon the order of the names, but the separation of Israel from south *Kharu* and from Gezer and Askalon, closely corresponds to a typical situation (see p. 381).

In the age of confusion before the accession of Ramses III a Syrian gained power in Egypt and, like the Hyksos of old, was notorious for his iconoclastic treatment of the Egyptian gods (p. 171 *sq.*). Early in the reign of Ramses the Sea-peoples again threatened Egypt, and, as before, the disturbances began west of the Delta. Libyans and Aegeans participated, and with them the Pulesati (Philistines), Thekel (or Zakkal, see p. 173, n. 1) and

others. Hatti, Kode, Carchemish, Arvad and Alashiya fell before them, and the hordes encamped in Amor. Appeals for help reached Egypt, and Ramses proceeded to Zahi (Phoenicia), and claimed to be victorious on sea and land (see pp. 175, 283). None the less, the hold upon Syria slackened, and a fresh campaign was necessary—it was the last effort of Egypt against the Hittites. Against the 'people of Seir of the tribes of the Shasu' Ramses must also send a punitive expedition, and a relief at Medinet Habu depicts seven captive chiefs, each with typical costume and physical features: Hittite, Amorite, Thekel, Sherden, Shasu, Tursha and Philistine. Although Ramses III continued to receive tribute from Asia, new political scenes were being set. In Egypt the Theban priests and mercenaries became powerful; but Egyptian inscriptions cease in Sinai after the time of Ramses IV. If anything, it is Syrian influence in Egypt which grows in strength. The Delta gained its independence, and therewith conditions changed in the Levant. The account of the envoy Wenamon, of the days of Ramses XI (1118–1090), is a telling witness, both to the virtual death of Egyptian prestige, and to the independence and importance of the Phoenician coast-towns (pp. 192 *sqq.*). How far the history of Syria and Palestine was affected in these developments will be considered later (see below, pp. 376 *sqq.*).

V. RELATIONS WITH EGYPT

Upon the internal conditions in Syria and Palestine much valuable light is thrown by the Amarna letters, although allowance must naturally be made for the fact that they belong, properly speaking, to a rather restricted period. In them we meet with numerous petty 'kings' (*sharrāni*), even of close-lying places (cf. similarly Josh. x–xii). They hold power under the king of Egypt, and this gives them a special claim upon him. They often call themselves the 'man' (*amelu*) of the city N.; but the ordinary title is 'prefect' (*khazān*), a familiar term in post-biblical Hebrew for an overseer. It is, perhaps, an indication of the prominence of Jerusalem that Abdi-Khiba insists that he is no *khazān* like the rest, but an *ú-e-ú*[1]. He is a 'shepherd' of the king; it is the title employed by such great kings as Seti I, who calls himself 'good shepherd,' and Hammurabi (cf. also Ezek. xxxiv). He very distinctly attributes his position, not to father or mother, but to

[1] It is the title also given to Merire, Ikhnaton's priest and 'great seer' of the god Aton (Breasted, *Ancient Egyptian Records*. II, sec. 987).

the king (see the letter, p. 315). Although we meet with hereditary ruling families (Nos. CLXXIX, CLXXXIX, cf. CCCXVII), with their 'father's house' (*bit abi*; cf. the similar term for a tribal division, Ex. vi, 14, etc.), a son who took the place of his slain father must await the arrival of the Egyptian officer (*rabiṣ*, CCXX). Even a transference from one city to another seems to require a 'renewal' (CXCVII; cf. the Hebrew equivalent in 1 Sam. xi, 14). Presumably, as was the custom later (*e.g.* 1 Macc. vi, 15), the king would send a symbol of investiture (*e.g.* a ring, CVII). Taku of Nukhashshi was ceremonially anointed by Thutmose III in his own city. When Abimilki of Tyre, in return to a request for information, reports that 'the king of the land of Danuna is dead and his brother has become king after him, and his land is quiet,' the reference is probably to a district outside Egyptian jurisdiction, though the identification is uncertain (see p. 281). We meet with one chieftainess (CCLXXIII); but Yapakhi of Gezer speaks of both his father and mother as faithful servants of the king. Some of the prefects had been taken to Egypt, evidently as hostages: the 'sons of Tunip' anxiously request the return of the son of their old leader, Aki-Teshub; and Yakhtiri, the guardian of Gaza and Joppa, reminds the king that he had been brought to Egypt and had served him, and had stood at the King's Gate (see above, p. 72). Here and elsewhere certain cities were closely associated, *e.g.* Lachish and Gezer (excavation has shown that they also shared certain cultural elements); or one city would have authority over others, so, for example, Gebal, Tyre and Jerusalem. Cities also differed as regards their rights, some having greater powers and claiming to be as autonomous as any city of Egypt.

Although some larger coalitions can be recognized, the chiefs, while freely impeaching their colleagues (*ibri*, CXXVI; the word is distinct from *Ḫabiru*), are united mainly by their common recognition of the Egyptian divine king. They hold the cities for the king, they take their orders from him, they duly send reports, and 'will do nothing until the king sends reply to his servant' (CCLXXX). Egyptian interests were everywhere represented by the *rabiṣ*, literally 'the croucher' (watchman?). We may suppose that this servant of the royal 'Shepherd' was his 'dog'; and 'dog' (*kalb*) is a common word for a subservient chieftain, though it is also used as a term of abuse (*e.g.* applied to Aziru by Rib-Addi). The same official is also called *rabu* ('great one'), *malik* ('counsellor'), or *zukin* (*i.e.* *sōkēn*, as in Is. xxii, 15). The power of such officials was considerable, their jurisdiction extensive, their loyalty not always above reproach. They might fix the amount of the

tribute (the kings of Nukhashshi, Niy, etc., LIII, 50), even as (among the cuneiform tablets discovered at Taanach) Aman-khashir, whose title, however, is not stated, instructed Ishtar-washur to send his tribute to him at Megiddo and, on another occasion, to present himself before him at Gaza. The chiefs frequently refer the king to his officials as testimony for their good conduct or veracity, or for information upon the situation. They ask that one be sent to judge a law-suit, or to enquire into the loyalty of a suspected chief. Such officials were intermediaries, and their goodwill to be desired.

Some of the great chiefs had friends or agents who especially represented their interests at court. Aziru appeals to Dudu, who 'sits before the king' and, incidentally, asks him to name his wants (p. 307 *sq.*). Dudu, whose name has a strikingly Semitic appearance (cf. Dodo, Dido, David), was perhaps the great Tutu whose tomb is at el-Amarna, a high official who intervened between the king and the foreign envoys. Rib-Addi's friend Aman-appa was a military officer. Similar though not identical letters are sometimes sent to the king and a court official. It was necessary to secure the king's ear, and when Rib-Addi roundly tells the king: 'See, when the king my lord wrote, "see, troops have gone forth," thou did'st (speak) lies...'; we recognize that it was no less necessary to ensure that he was not deceived. From time to time certain officials are directly or indirectly condemned by the chiefs; and Rib-Addi names several Egyptians who were traitors to the Egyptian cause.

The most prominent of all the officials was Yankhamu, virtually the vizier for all Syria, and the royal fan-bearer (*muṣalil sharri*). Rib-Addi tells the king: 'I hear from the mouth of the people that he is a wise man and all the people love him.' His name marks him a Semite, like Dudu (above). He had control of the stores in Yarimuta; and it was his duty to send necessary supplies along the coast: one of Rib-Addi's many complaints was that Simyra was better treated in this respect than Byblus. Houses were stripped of their fine woodwork (cf. Zeph. ii, 14), and men sold to him in return for food. He acted as judge in a quarrel between Rib-Addi and Yapa-Addi: a more complicated case, however, was taken to the king. His power is indicated also by the submissive tone of the letters addressed to him; only Yapa-Addi writes abruptly to complain that Yankhamu negligently holds aloof from Simyra which is so closely besieged that ships and corn cannot be taken thither. Yankhamu is pointed to as the man to send or lead troops for the protection of the whole land—north

and south—against the *Sa.Gaz*, but he is sometimes blamed for his negligence, indifference, or double-dealing (p. 315). In this great figure some writers have seen the original of Joseph (note especially Gen. xlvii): he at least illustrates the power which a Syrian could wield in the Egyptian empire (cf. pp. 155, 171, 187). Yankhamu is most closely associated with the land of Yarimuta, which, whether identical or not with that named by Sargon (vol. I, p. 405), may be placed either in the Delta or more probably in the southern coast-land of Palestine (cf. Jarmuth, p. 353, n. 1). This being so, his alleged anti-Egyptian activities are the more significant.

Yankhamu and other high officials were intermediaries between the king and the vassal chiefs. All business was conducted by messengers, and a son of Aziru complains to the king that Yankhamu prevents his messenger from going to assure him of his readiness to serve him. Rib-Addi, too, among his many laments declares that his messengers could not reach the king, or that the king did not read the tablet, or that a tablet in reply was not sent back. Prevented from sending to court, he must even write for royal permission for Aman-masha, evidently a trusty scribe, to remain with him in order to carry his tablet and, no doubt, his more private instructions (cf. p. 335). On the other hand, chiefs might be summoned to Egypt to explain their conduct. But the chief of Kumid sends his son; and Shubandu, aged and ill in the king's service, sends a substitute. Shuwardata, after expressing his extreme delight at being summoned, enlarges instead upon the necessity of having troops sent to save him, and the wily Aziru passes from the heights of joy to the multiplication of excuses. Abimilki of Tyre points out that a guard must be sent to protect the city before he can leave it. There are also chiefs who, like Rib-Addi, desire to place their case before the king. Hostile chiefs and officials do their best to stop Abdi-Khiba from coming, and he asks for a *rabiṣ* to conduct him to Egypt. It is a mark of honour for chariots to be sent to convoy the chief to Egypt (CLXXX, CCLXX; cf. Jacob, Gen. xlv, 21, 27). Finally, in the most desperate cases, men fled into Egypt, and the Egyptian records describe the entry of the starving and homeless Semites (p. 125).

There was an elaborate messenger-service. When Rib-Addi employed one of the *Sa.Gaz* to take a tablet into Simyra, he must give him no less than thirteen manas of silver and a set of garments (CXII). Ordinarily the messengers received their rations; and an Egyptian list enumerates the Syrian envoys (*marayna*) who were

fed (at Thebes), and mentions the names of their cities: Megiddo, Chinnereth, Achshaph (?), Taanach, Tienni (cf. above, p. 313), Sharon, Askalon, Hazor, Lachish, etc. The more important envoys—like Khani, when he visited Aziru (p. 308)—are furnished with horses and asses, also cattle, fowls, food and drink. An Egyptian messenger returned with one of Aziru's in order to carry the tribute to Egypt; and parties would be made up, as when the Egyptian prince Zikar sent messengers and presents to Egypt to accompany the envoys returning from Hatti. When Sinuhe left Egypt and fled to Syria, he was passed on from one district to another (vol. I, p. 226); but something of the nature of a passport appears in the tablet sent by an unnamed though prominent king (? of north Syria) to protect his messenger on his journey (xxx):

Unto the kings of Canaan, the servants of my brother, the king verily hath spoken saying: 'Behold, I have sent Akia, mine envoy, unto my brother, the king of Egypt, *expeditiously to bestow pains upon the affair*[1]. Let none detain him, (but) cause him swiftly to enter into Egypt, and take him with haste unto the hand of the prefect of Egypt and let not his hand be against him in aught.'

The messengers would bring the royal tablets to the chiefs, and carry away the acknowledgments. The latter were cast in more or less conventional terms, *e.g.*: 'Speak unto my lord the king, the sun from heaven, saying: "Zurata, the man of Accho, the servant of the king, the dust of his feet and the ground whereon he treadeth, (hath spoken) saying: At the feet of my lord the king, the sun from heaven, have I bowed down seven times seven times upon the belly and upon the back. Who is the man unto whom his lord the king hath written and he obeyeth not? According to what goeth forth from the mouth of the Sun from heaven, so shall it be done."' Again: 'Unto my lord the king Ba'lu-mikhir, the true servant of the king, (hath spoken) saying: At the feet of my lord, the king, have I fallen down seven times and seven times. Everything whatsoever that the lord king, even the lord, hath done unto his land is very gracious.' Moreover, the chiefs declare that they hearken to the *rabiṣ*, and in particular to a certain official (Maia is especially named) who is travelling round to prepare billets, etc., for the royal troops. Several letters state the readiness of the chiefs to meet chariots or ships and follow the king. Egypt had various garrisons and fortresses scattered over Syria, but the greater campaigns were undertaken only during the summer months. The first campaign

[1] The words in italics are extremely uncertain.

of Thutmose III in Palestine, Lebanon and Nuges, was conducted within six months (see p. 72). It may be added that Rib-Addi in the depths of his despair allowed two months for the journey of his messenger and the arrival of reinforcements; and that Wenamon's messenger took forty-eight days to go from Byblus to the Delta and to return with a cargo (p. 193).

In such circumstances as these, not only was the post of messenger or scribe an important one, but a firsthand acquaintance with Syria was indispensable. In the Papyrus Anastasi I (p. 225), a famous satirical composition of about the time of Ramses II, Amenemope, who claims to be a *maher*, or trained scribe, is mercilessly rallied by Hori, a scribe employed in the royal stables, for his extreme ignorance and incompetence. The style is inimitable, but even a very brief running paraphrastic adaptation will serve the present purpose[1].

O, scribe, to whom nothing is unknown, thou art sent on an expedition to (Phoenicia?) at the head of the victorious army of Sherden, Kehek, Meshwesh, etc., to smite the rebellious *N-ʿ-r-n* (*neʿārīn*, youths?). You do not know how to ration them; the bedouins look on secretly; the army wants to start, but there is no bread; why do you punish the men? This is not good; let Mose hear (of it) and he will send to destroy thee[2]. Thou sayest 'I am a scribe, a *maher*.' A swift horse is harnessed, it is like a storm of wind when it goes forth. But thou hast not gone to the land of Hatti or beheld Ube (Damascus). What is the Simyra of Ramses (*viz.* Ramses II) like? Thou hast never been to Kadesh and Tebaḥ, nor to the region of the Shasu, nor the road to (P)-m-g-r, where the trees reach the heavens and lions are more plentiful than leopards, and the Shasu are on every side. Thy chariot is drawn up the hills, or thou hast to carry it, thou sleepest, tired and crushed; thy groom deserts thee and, joining the Shasu, disguises himself as an Asiatic. Thou art robbed of house and goods. What is Byblus like? Tell me about Beirut, Sidon, Zarephath, and Uzu (opposite Tyre). They tell of another city in the sea, Port Tyre its name, water is taken to it in boats, and it is richer in fishes than in sand. Another misery is the crossing of Ḍ-r-ʿ-m (Zorah?). Thou wilt say, it burns more than a (hornet) sting. (This is a play on Zorah [*ṣorʿah*] and *ṣirʿah*.) Put me on the road to Accho, and Achshaph, the mountain of Shechem (? Mt. Ebal), Hazor, Kh-m-t (Hamath?)... Which is the way to 'I-d-m-m (Adummim?). Tell me of other towns. Thou hast not gone to Takhshi (cf. p. 311), T-m-n-t (some northern Timnath), Kadesh, Dapur, Ḥ-r-n-m (Horonaim?), Kirjath-Anab, Beth-Sepher (*i.e.* Kirjath-Sepher), 'I-d-r-n (Adoraim)... or Kh-n(r)-ḍ in the land of Ubi, 'a hill upon its boundary, the scene of the battles of every warrior.' Pray, teach me about K-y-n (? Kanah), Rehob, Beth-shean and T-r-ḳ-el, the stream of

[1] *Egyptian Hieratic Texts*, I, I, *The Papyrus Anastasi*, by Alan H. Gardiner (Leipzig, 1911).

[2] Mose, apparently a name for the Pharaoh, was once thought to be Moses (so *e.g.* F. J. Lauth in 1868).

Jordan, how is it crossed? Cause me to know the crossing over to Megiddo. *Thou hast perished like a lion, O good maher*. (In the words italicized the scribe has lapsed into Hebrew.) Thy name becomes like that of the chief of Asher—(his name is given as Ḳ-ḏ-r-d-y)—when the hyaena found him in the balsam tree (*bki*, Heb. *bākā*). The Shasu are concealed here: 'some of them are of 4 or 5 cubits, fierce of face; their heart is not mild, and they hearken not to coaxing.' Thou art alone without helper or army (Heb. *ṣābā*). Thy chariot is overturned, thy horse breaks its harness. At last the sky is revealed, thou fanciest that the enemy is behind thee. Thou hast entered Joppa, and findest the maiden who watches over the gardens. Disgracing thyself, thou art dismissed from the rank of *maher*. Thy shirt of fine linen is taken away. At night, when thou art worn out, men take stealthy weapons, cut the horse's tether, and it flees. The chariot is smashed. 'Give me food and water, for I have arrived safely.' But they turn a deaf ear. Thou makest thy way into the armoury; workshops surround thee, smiths and leather-workers are about thee, and do all that thou wishest. The chariot is repaired, and thou goest forth. What dost thou know of the extremity of the land of Canaan? (The road from Egypt to Raphia is then detailed.) How many leagues' march is it to Gaza? Answer quickly! Render me a report that I may call thee a *maher*, that I may boast to others of thy name of *mariannu*. As for me, I am experienced... Behold I have told thee the nature of the *maher*, I have traversed for thee Tenu (*i.e.* Retenu, see vol. 1, p. 229); I have led to thee the foreign countries all at once, and the towns in their order. 'Maybe, some day, thou too wilt be able to describe them and become (a travelled *maher*).'

While this popular composition illustrates both the antiquarianism, and the practical interests of the Egyptian overlords of Syria, another text aims at instilling into the Egyptian the vocabulary necessary for the Foreign Service, and describes the equipment of an expedition to Syria, with a detailed enumeration of the horses, attendants, chariots and weapons. It amounts to a collection of native and foreign terms, indicative of the mingled population of south-west Asia, and proof, if that were necessary, of the advantage of possessing a *lingua franca* over the whole area held by Egypt and the other Oriental powers.

If the great kings could be outspoken with their 'brothers,' and comment upon the poor quality of their gifts, or of their maidens (No. 1, 80), their relations with the vassals were not likely to be less restrained. When Labaya protests his loyalty and readiness to pay tribute, he adds: 'Further, how, if the king hath written for my wife, how should I withhold her? How, if the king hath written unto me: "Plunge a dagger of bronze into thine heart," how should I not do the bidding of the king?' Shatiya (of Enishaṣi) sends his daughter to the court, and the king asks of the prince of Ammia (?) his daughter and 20 (?) goodly servants, in return for which 'the king, thy lord, will say

"my face give thee life, seeing that thou hast given him, the king, a present with (?) thy daughter."' Milki-ili complains to the king that Yankhamu has demanded of him 2000 shekels of silver, and also his wife and children. Perhaps this was not, as in the case of Rib-Addi's subjects, in return for food, but because the vizier thought him a rebel; though Yankhamu's behaviour was not always above suspicion. Men were sent as gifts by the prince of Zikar; Shubandu despatches 500 cattle and 20 maidens, and larger numbers were sent by Abdi-Khiba. In some cases these were probably captured in the civil war. Prisoners and slaves were constantly being sent to Egypt, and are frequently depicted. The children are usually naked to the age of puberty, but the babies are seen carried in a bag on the mother's back. The more elaborately dressed men and women represent captured nobles (*my-r-y-n*, cf. *mariannu*, p. 331) and their wives; and, as a consequence of the many wars, Syrians in great numbers entered Egypt and were distributed among the temples (Thebes, Memphis, etc.), or placed in the garrisons and employed as workmen. In this and other ways Egypt became familiar with the Semitic words for weapons (chariots, etc.), household vessels, cooking, music, gardening, shipping, etc. (p. 154). Semites appear among the brickmakers at the Temple of Amon (Thutmose III); and the overseer is represented saying to those who bring stone, 'Strengthen your hands, ye people.' After his conquest of Megiddo the same king sent foreign workmen into Egypt; and later, under the Ramessids, mention is made of the Aperu, a foreign folk, who have sometimes been identified with the Hebrews. The name, however, has also been connected with that of Ephraim, or explained (by Müller) as that of a coast-dwelling people, whose name Afri, applied to the Phoenicians of Carthage, was the origin of Africa (see further, p. 357)[1].

From Egyptian descriptions and representations of Syrian products and spoil, and from recent excavation, we can gain vivid pictures of the land, the warlike character of the soldiers, and the extent of intercourse (p. 70 *sq.*). Palestine was generally poorer than Syria. Syria was famed for beautiful and luxurious products, and Thutmose brought of the flowers that are in 'God's Land' (a term sometimes used of Syria), and placed them in the temple of Amon. We read of rich Syrian flocks and herds of asses—elephants were hunted at Niy—of abundant honey, wine and oil; and at Arvad Thutmose III found grain 'more plentiful than the sand of the shore' (cf. the phrase in Gen. xxii, 17, etc.). Moreover,

[1] See W. Max Müller, *M.V.A.G.*, 1913, p. 255.

there were ivory, valuable woods, precious stones, copper, lead and silver, and chariots wrought in gold. Working in gold, to judge from the excavations at Gezer, was understood from early times. The men were sturdy warriors; and mace-heads, flint or bronze arrow-heads, and ballista-stones are among the other relics unearthed. Coats of mail were in use—200 were taken by Thutmose at Megiddo. Representations are found of metal vases closely resembling Aegean workmanship. Phoenicia sends, in particular, vessels decorated with the heads of animals. The pottery unearthed in course of excavation reveals the influence of later Mycenaean ware (cf. pp. 427, 460). The shapes are graceful, with burnished ornamentation, and elaborate painting, which soon degenerates. Geometric patterns abound; but there is little originality, and they are chiefly combinations of a few *motifs*, usually in black, red and buff. Natural objects are often represented: plants, fishes, animals (especially horned goats or ibexes), and particularly birds (see further, pp. 425 *sqq.*). Spindle-whorls, weavers' weights, bone-needles, ivory buttons, etc., testify to a knowledge of weaving. Egyptian paintings often depict the gay dresses of the people (cf. vol. I, p. 228). Among the more noteworthy fashions may be mentioned the pottery figurine from Gezer wearing a sort of tam-o'-shanter, braided round the edge and with six streaming ribbons. Articles for adornment and for cosmetic purposes already abound.

It was a natural weakness for states to regard gifts as tribute, and to treat as either that which really required a *quid pro quo*. So, Thutmose III claims to have received tribute from Assyria; but Ashur-uballiṭ informs Ikhnaton that Egypt had responded to the gifts of his father Ashur-nadin-akhi with 20 talents of gold. The king of Alashiya sends to Egypt consignments of copper, ivory and wood; but he gives a list of the things required (horses, chariots covered with gold, garments, oil, etc.). Egypt demands wood from Byblus, but Rib-Addi reminds the king that the Palace had formerly sent silver to his fathers; meanwhile, Aziru had seized the ports, and had sent ship-loads of wood, and we can guess to what use he put the payments (cf. p. 303). In the story of Wenamon Zakar-baal has his archives with the account of the silver sent in the past; and we also hear how the wood was felled and conveyed to Egypt in six ships (later we hear of floats, I Kings v, 9), in return for Egyptian products (gold, silver, linen, papyrus, hides, coils of rope, lentils and fish). Under different circumstances Seti I compelled the Lebanon nobles to cut down the trees themselves (p. 136)—we see them represented in their best

clothes—and Amenhotep II had made them drag the precious cedar for the sacred barques of Amon over the mountains. We do not know why a petty chief like Milki-ili, at one time a leader of the Habiru, could so confidently ask the king for healing myrrh (CCLXIX). An important vassal-king, Shama-Adda, in return for his present to Egypt, requests a couple of Nubian (*Kashshi*) youths, and also a palace-physician, as he has none on the spot. The art of medicine is an old one; and the famous Ebers medical papyrus refers to the prescription of a man of Byblus[1]. It is significant that the Hatti king Hattushil complains to the king of Babylon of the detention of his *āshipu*-priest and of his physician; and to the despatch of the goddess Ishtar by Tushratta to the aged Amenhotep III (p. 300), there corresponds a late story where Ramses II sent an image of Khonsu to a Hittite princess of Naharin (p. 151).

VI. LANGUAGE AND WRITING

Intercourse between Egypt and Syria reveals itself in a hundred ways: in the innumerable amulets, scarabs, seals and seal-impressions of Egyptian origin or influence, in the objects of Egyptian alabaster and glass, in the characteristic lotus decoration, and in the direct indications of the presence of Egyptians, as, for example, the statuette of Dudu-Amen of Gezer. Zakar-baal had at hand an Egyptian singer to cheer Wenamon with her songs; and, conversely, Syrian females could be found in Egyptian harems, and officers could rise to high rank. Intermarriages were common, and, in general, the Egyptian province of Syria enjoyed a very considerable internal freedom provided it did not join the enemies of Egypt.

There is archaeological evidence for intercourse with the Aegean, but similar evidence for intercourse with Babylon is relatively inconsiderable (p. 428 *sq.*). Cylinder seals sometimes appear to betray Mesopotamian influence, and some of the cylinders at Gezer represent a peculiar kind of curved scimitar identical with one found in a tomb at Gezer, with another found at Nablus, and with that which has the name of the Assyrian king Adad-nirari, now in the British Museum (p. 239). On the other hand, north

[1] p. 219. The 'Edwin Smith' medical papyrus is proof, however, that in spite of the prominence of magic some little advance had been made in a systematic treatment, which was based upon careful observation and resorted to dissection (Breasted, *Recueil d'Études Égyptologiques...de Champollion*, pp. 385–429). See p. 220.

Mesopotamian influence shows itself unmistakably, as we shall see, in many other ways. Some of the names of the Syrian princes point to the predominance, at an earlier period, of an influence from the north, and suggest the presence of a ruling aristocracy of Aryan or, rather, of early Iranian extraction. Here are to be mentioned the names of Shuwardata ('sun [*surya*]-given') of Keilah, and Yashdata of Taanach. The latter was closely connected with Biridiya of Megiddo, with whose name we may compare Biridashwa (? 'he who owns a great horse') of Yenoam: the second element of this name recurs in the names Dasha, Dashartī, etc., and appears to be Mitannian. Arzawiya's name has also been thought to have an old Iranian origin; and in Artamanya of Zir-Bashan and various similar Mitanni compounds (Artatama, etc.), we may recognize the element *Arta*, which corresponds to the Sanskrit *rita*, 'order' (p. 400), while the second part, *Manya*, is the name of one of Aziru's associates, and reappears in Rusmanya, the chieftain of Sharun (near Lake Gennesaret).

The ending of the name Namiawaza finds several analogies in Asia Minor (cf. Mattiuaza of Mitanni, and see p. 282), and that of Ma (or Ba)yarzana of Khazi (north of Palestine) recalls the Iranian -vārzanu, -barzanes. Among the Indian (Indo-Iranian) gods known to the Hatti of Boghaz Keui were Varuna (the guardian of *rita*), Indra and Mit(h)ra, and the last appears in a contemporary name in Egyptian (see further, p. 401 *sq.*). Winckler's dubious conjecture that the *marianni* mentioned by the Hatti (cf. perhaps the *maher*, p. 326) were a class or caste whose name is that of the Vedic *mārya* 'noble,' should perhaps be mentioned. Undoubtedly much is still uncertain, and the precise affinities of the Hatti language itself, or rather of the chaos of languages in the whole Hittite area, are still under discussion; yet the evidence as a whole points to the presence, amid influences of Asia Minor origin, of some distinctively Iranian (or Aryan) wave; see pp. 13, 253. Although much is at present obscure, remarkable light is being thrown upon early ethnical developments, and upon the extent to which Syria was exposed from time to time to utterly non-Semitic tendencies. The age of Persian influence (sixth–fourth centuries B.C.) thus appears to have had its forerunner in or before the Amarna age.

Later, the Iranian elements seem to have disappeared. But names with Asia Minor analogies can be recognized in the Egyptian list of the Hittite leaders at the battle of Kadesh in the time of Ramses II. Among them is the element *Targ*, the familiar god Tarkh, Tark (p. 271), who, in the Amarna letters, appears

only in the name Tarkhundaraba of Arzawa (p. 272 *sq.*). On the other hand, the divine name Khiba (Khipa), which is familiar in the north (Mitanni and Kissuwadna), is found as far south as Jerusalem in the name Abdi-Khiba, the first part of which ('servant') is read as a Semitic word, although it may well have been a Mitannian equivalent (Putu-). A similar ambiguity attaches to the sign for the god who was known as Teshub, Addu, etc. (vol. I, p. 231). The form Teshub, common in Mitanni and among the Kassites, is found in Amor (cf. the names, p. 318), and glosses in the Mitannian language appear as far south as Tunip. Indeed, the Mitannian language may also have been known in Amor, where we meet, along with good Semitic names (Aziru, etc.), some which are apparently foreign (*e.g.* Banti-shinna). The names along the coast are partly good Semitic (*e.g.* Abimilki and Zimrida); but a few are strange, like Zatatna (Shutatna) of Accho. It is noteworthy that in an Egyptian list of Keftian names is one that could correspond to Achish (of Gath, in the time of David) and Ikausu (of Ekron, seventh century)—the rest contribute little or nothing, and an alleged Ben-Sisera is non-existent (p. 287). While the Philistines appear in the O.T. practically already Semitized, save that they are not circumcised, the conjecture that Goliath's name stands for some Guli-atta (? cf. the Lydian Alyattes) may just be mentioned. That the coast population contained an intermixture of blood from the Levant is of course only to be expected, and would be in harmony with conditions in subsequent centuries (p. 379). As for the Semitic names, a few in Ben- ('son,' *e.g.* Ben-ana of Byblus, and, later, Banazana of Zir-Bashan) are worth noticing because of the preponderance of this type in the list of Solomon's twelve provincial governors (I Kings iv).

The native Semitic language was an earlier form of that which is known to us later in Hebrew, Moabite and Phoenician dialects. It has influenced the Babylonian of the cuneiform tablets, and is seen in the many 'glosses' from Byblus, Tyre and Palestine—but not from more northerly places. These glosses are usually severed by a slanting stroke from the preceding word, which they explain or replace; and they represent the current pronunciation, so far as the cuneiform syllabary allowed, whereas the languages mentioned above are written in a consonantal script, and the pronunciation of Hebrew itself is known (apart from Greek forms of names) only from later Rabbinical tradition, after the spoken language had long died out. These glosses, together with ancient place- and personal-names, and the Semitic words pre-

served in Egyptian, present a not inconsiderable amount of interesting material. Thus it appears from an Egyptian source (p. 327) that the word for 'good' agrees with the Phoenician and Arabic (*n'm*) rather than with the Hebrew (*ṭōb*). When Abimilki of Tyre writes: 'if the king says, "be (*kuna*) before the army," the servant says to his lord "I will be" (*ia-a-ia-ia*)'; he appears to employ the two verbs for the copula which become characteristic of Phoenician and of Hebrew respectively. The glosses preserve some older grammatical forms; and while the plural ends in *-m*, as in Phoenician and Hebrew, one Egyptian source has *-n* (*n'ryn*, p. 326), as in the Arabic, Moabite and Aramaic languages.

The Egyptian scribes were familiar with Babylonian, and, it has been suggested (by W. M. Müller), copied their lists of Palestinian, Syrian and other names from cuneiform sources. It is noteworthy that in a list of towns of Cyprus of the thirteenth century, the scribe evidently misunderstood the Assyrian postpositive determinative *ki*, used to indicate the land or district of Salamis, and presents the form Salameski. Later, in the tenth century, the list of Shishak is thought to show some linguistic changes in Palestine, and the character of the Egyptian transliteration has been taken to indicate that a consonantal script had now come into use. However, the problem of the origin and date of the two great branches of the Semitic alphabet—the South Semitic (the old Arabian, etc.) and the North (Hebrew, Phoenician, Aramaean, etc.)—still remains uncertain. Zakar-baal, it is true, had his court-journals, and Wenamon took with him 500 rolls of papyrus; but the latter may have been for export from Byblus: the Greek word *biblos* (whence ultimately our 'Bible') being derived from Byblus, like 'parchment' from Pergamum, and 'copper' from Cyprus. Later, at all events, ostraka from Samaria (? ninth century) written with a reed pen, and limestone tablets (Gezer, Tell Sandahannah) were employed; although at Gezer itself cuneiform clay-tablets were in use as late as 650 B.C. The North Semitic alphabet, as known to us, has not been proved to be older than the ninth century, although some writing at Serabit el-Khadim in the Sinaitic peninsula, supposed to date about 1500 B.C., is regarded by good authorities as evidence for the equally remote appearance of this script. See vol. I, p. 189.

At all events, the Babylonian language, with certain dialectical peculiarities, prevailed, not only as the language of diplomatic intercourse in Egypt and south-west Asia, but also, to judge from tablets (some unwritten) found at Taanach (together with a clay-box

for holding them), for more local purposes, and for correspondence between the local chiefs and officials. That some common vehicle would be needed in the place of the different languages and dialects of the heterogeneous population, is natural. Many centuries later it was Aramaic; but that, earlier, the vehicle should have been a language and script so complex and difficult as the Babylonian, must be due to some definite historical cause (see p. 377). The Babylonian language of the Taanach tablets is relatively less precise than that of the Amarna letters, and it is noteworthy that among the tablets discovered at el-Amarna itself were portions of Babylonian myths, written in as simple a form as possible, and furnished with dots to facilitate reading. These were evidently for the purpose of training the Egyptian scribe in the complex script. Moreover, examples of simple exercises were also found, and in one case the order of the signs corresponds to that of the Assyrian syllabaries, and partly agrees with the order of the consonantal signs in the North Semitic alphabet.

It is impossible, of course, to say to what extent the knowledge of Babylonian spread among the people of Palestine[1]. Presumably an Egyptian envoy might also act as scribe, although no doubt there were some chieftains who had scribes of their own. It may be pointed out, in passing, that David's scribe, Shavsha (adopting the old form in I Chron. xviii, 16), apparently has a Babylonian name ('sun'). The responsibility of the scribe or envoy is obvious when we consider the frequent difficulty of interpreting the letters with their elusive references, the use of some vague 'he,' the ambiguity of negative questions, and so forth. The custom of quoting sometimes becomes complicated; one case runs: 'I frequently said... you frequently said... so I said... and you said... and frequently you said... so, now, see' (LXXXII). In such circumstances misunderstandings were easy; and of this we may have an example when Rib-Addi is accused of having spoken hostile words against the king, whereas the king seems to have mistaken Rib-Addi's quotation of Abd-Ashirta's hostile utterance for the sentiments of the chief of Byblus himself (LXXIV, 14, 31 *sqq.* and XCIV, 14 *sqq.*). The safest plan was both to send a tablet and to instruct the

[1] Letters sometimes reach Egypt from different chiefs, on tablets of apparently the same clay, sometimes couched in almost identical terms (CCIII–CCVI), at other times differing only in contents (CLXXVII–CLXXXIII). A certain close similarity of style is found in different letters though of similar script (CCXCII, CCXCVI, cf. the style of CCLXVI), and four appeals from different places in North Palestine agree in almost everything except the sender's name and city (CLXXIV *sqq.*, Louvre, AO 7097).

messenger what to say (similarly in 2 Kings xix, 9 *sq*., 14), and to ensure that both agreed. So, when the Hatti king Murshil made a treaty with Shunashshura of Kissuwadna, he included the following clause:

If the Sun (*i.e.* the king of Hatti) send thee a tablet in which the record of a matter has been put down, and the messenger report (verbally) to thee about the matter which he has brought to thee, if the words of the messenger agree with the wording of the letter, then thou, Shunashshura, believe him. But if the words which thou hast from the mouth of the messenger do not correspond with the words of the letter, thou, Shunashshura, shalt not trust him, and thou shalt surely not take any harm in thy heart over these words.

We hear of Khane, a 'dragoman' (*targumannu*) in connection with Babylonia and with Mitanni: he is perhaps the messenger Khani, whom the king, in a letter to Intaruda of Achshaph, calls 'the royal officer (? *Pa.Tur*) in the land of Canaan.' When Wen-amon was driven by sea to Alasa and brought before the queen Kheteb, he cries, 'surely there is one among you who understands Egyptian.' Often the letters must be translated to the addressee, and Abdi-Khiba adds to his letters a humble appeal to the royal *tup-shar*—the word is Hebraized in Nahum iii, 17—praying him to 'bring good words' to the king. Two letters could safely be written on one tablet, and Pu-Baal appends to his formal letter to the king another to Shakhshikhashakh to explain his delay in sending a caravan. So also, the letter of Ba'aluia and Batti-ilu to their king (probably Aziru) concludes with Amur-ba'al's greeting to Ben-ana and Rab-zidki (CLXX, above p. 309).

An interesting side-light is afforded by the fact that the frontier-officials in the third year of Merneptah were keeping a record both of the messengers passing to and fro, and of the letters they carried into Palestine and Amor, or into Egypt (p. 153). Thus, Baal-Roy, son of Zeper of Gaza, bears letters to Khay, the captain of the infantry, and Baalath-Remeg, chief of Tyre. At the capital the tablets were evidently carefully stored and, if necessary, copied. One of Tushratta's letters to Ikhnaton was copied in 'the second year' (XXVII); and among the archives of Boghaz Keui a letter from Egypt is endorsed: 'written according to the mouth (*i.e.* the wording) of the original tablet, nothing has been changed[1].' Copies were kept of some of the royal letters to other rulers—similarly, at Elephantine, in Upper Egypt, in the fifth century B.C., two copies (with some material variants)

[1] The Boghaz Keui collection furnishes interesting evidence for the copying and recopying of tablets, the specifying of authorship, and for the copying of several tablets on one large one (*e.g.* 30 × 20 cm. in size).

were found of the Aramaic letter sent to Judah—and the preservation at el-Amarna of Yapa-Addi's brusque condemnatory letter to Yankhamu (XCVIII) may find its explanation in the sender's instructions: 'Write to the court concerning this affair.' Rib-Addi could implore the king to examine the tablets of his father's house to assure himself of the loyalty of Byblus (LXXIV), even as, some time later, his disillusioned successor, Zakar-baal, had the journals of his father brought before him in order to acquaint himself with the earlier business dealings between Egypt and Byblus. It is noteworthy, however, that the 'Children of Tunip,' when they refer to their relations with Thutmose, beseech the king to satisfy himself by asking his 'elders' (p. 308). It is an illustration of the different degrees of culture; even as Laban solemnly adjures Jacob not to take other wives besides his (Laban's) daughters (Gen. xxxi), whereas Hatti kings secure the rights of the daughters they give in marriage to their allies or vassals by special articles in the written treaties (cf. p. 302).

It is evident that, when Ikhnaton moved to his new capital at Akhetaton (el-Amarna), some at least of the old records of his predecessors were conveyed. We do not know what proportion of the original total collection the extant 350 odd tablets represent; but we can imagine how the decay of the city (p. 128) and the loss of its archives could affect the course of subsequent diplomacy. As the Judaean locality Kirjath-Sepher (also called Kirjath-Sannah and Debir) ostensibly means 'city of writing or book,' it has been conjectured that there, too, old archives were kept; but although the name was certainly understood in this sense also by the Egyptians ('house of the scribe'), and Debir could be popularly connected with 'speaking, word,' etc., only the spade can settle this exceedingly interesting question.

VII. STYLE AND IDEAS

Among the great rulers themselves conventional stylistic usages were well established. The necessary salutations are duly uttered before the writer turns to his complaints of despoiled caravans, the receipt of insignificant gifts, and so forth. The formal greetings begin with the statement that it is well with the sender, and with his house, wife (wives), children, great ones, horses, chariots, his numerous warriors and his land—of these only a selection is made. The hope is then expressed that it is equally well with the addressee, his house, etc. Greetings are conspicuously brief from Zikar, 'the king's son' (XLIV). In writing to his vassals the king

sometimes states at the end of the letter that all is well with him. Thus, to the prince of Ammia, whose daughter he requests, he adds: 'and mayest thou know that the king prospereth as Shamash (*i.e.* the sun) in heaven, (and that) his charioteers are many (and) prosper exceedingly.' In his diplomatic letter to Aziru (see p. 307) he amplifies the preceding with the words: '(from) the Upper Land to the Lower Land, (from) the rising of the sun unto the setting of the sun.' On the other hand, the servility of the vassals to the king is unbounded, and Ammunira of Beirut instructs the messenger who is taking his letter to Egypt as follows (cxli):

> Speak unto my lord the king, my Sun, my gods (*ilāni-ia*), the breath of my life, saying: Ammunira, the man of Beirut, thy servant and the dust of thy feet (hath spoken), saying: At the feet of my lord the king, my Sun, my gods, the breath of my life, have I fallen down seven and seven times. Further: I have heard the words of the letter (lit. 'tablet') of my lord the king, my Sun, my gods, the breath of my life, and the heart of thy servant, the dust of the feet of my lord the king, my Sun and my gods, the breath of (my) life, is gladdened very, very much that the breath of my lord the king hath gone forth unto his servant and the dust of his feet...

Zimrida of Sidon thus expresses his gratification:'So was mine heart glad and mine head lifted up, and both mine eyes were brightened at the hearing of the word of my lord the king.' The chiefs call themselves variously the king's charioteer, the charioteer of his two horses, his house-dog—dog is also a term of reproach (see p. 322)—the footstool of his feet (cf. Ps. cx, 1), the dust of his feet (or sandals), the ground on which he treads, the throne on which he sits; they bow seven times and seven times, on belly and on back—and the postures are illustrated in the tomb of Harmhab (1350–15). In the letters of Egyptian officials (to Rib-Addi, Shumu-khadi and Ishtar-washur), the salutation is, 'may the gods (*ilānu*) grant (lit. 'ask,' as in Ps. cxxii, 6) thy peace'; or with the addition of 'and the peace of thy house.' But other letters to Ishtar-washur have more interesting terms: Aman-khashir writes 'Addu (Adad) preserve thy soul,' and Akhi-yawi invokes 'the lord of the gods' (see p. 349), and is distinguished by his warmth when he continues, 'a brother art thou, and love is in thy bowels (*mi-im*, as in Jer. iv, 19) and in thy heart.'

Tushratta, sometimes querulously harping upon his grievances, nevertheless can give an intelligent synopsis of political relations in his letter to Tiy (xxvi). The practice of repeated quotation among the chiefs has already been mentioned. Much space is taken up with protestations of loyalty and with denunciations; but some striking and informing letters are written by Rib-Addi—

especially in his final survey of his last troubles—also by Abimilki of Tyre, and by Abdi-Khiba. These and others (*e.g.* the report of Mut-baal to Yankhamu (p. 316)) display an ability to give fairly concise and pointed statements, even though we find on comparison that different writers conflict. Generally, the epistolary style prevails: even in the Hittite-Egyptian treaty the first person is used, and each side uses its own terms, and the two versions do not agree. The style of the Egyptian king (*e.g.* to Aziru) has an individuality of its own; and there is perhaps a touch of irony when an Egyptian official, writing as 'father' to 'son,' tries to learn from the unhappy Rib-Addi whether in a previous letter he was referring to a plague among men or among asses (xcvi). Hebrew humour is grim, as in the stories of Samson, or the foundation of the northern sanctuary of Dan (p. 371); compare also Zakar-baal's allusion to the graves of earlier envoys (p. 193 *sq.*). Plays upon words were indulged in by Egyptians as by Semitic writers; but the Semite had not the lightness of the Egyptian. The repeated lyrical utterances of Rib-Addi and Abdi-Khiba are early examples of the unrestrained laments of the later Israelites who appeal, not to a divine king of Egypt, their overlord, but to Yahweh; and it is because the Amarna letters are addressed to a king who is regarded as a god, or a representative of a god, that their language and ideas throw valuable light upon the way in which men thought of their sacred beings.

Examples occur of parallelism (Rib-Addi, cxxvii); and two long letters of Mayarzana of Khazi are planned throughout upon an artificial arrangement of strophes, describing separately each misdeed of the *Sa.Gaz* and ending 'and to Aman-khatbi (an Egyptian rebel) came the *Sa.Gaz*.' Namiawaza also writes in a similar elevated style, narrating treacherous deeds, and ending with the refrain, 'and they gave them to the *Sa.Gaz* and gave them not to the king, my lord' (cxcvii). The lament of the men of Tunip contains the striking words: 'Tunip thy city weeps (cf. Lam. i, 2), and its tears run down, and there is none taking hold of our hand' (*i.e.* helper, cf. Is. xlii, 6). It seems to point to an acquaintance with the similar words in the Babylonian 'Dialogue between Marduk and Ea.' On the other hand, just as Ikhnaton's hymns remind us of Ps. civ (p. 117), so Ps. cxxxix, 7 *sq.* is suggested in the words of Tagi (cclxiv): 'As for us, consider! My 2 eyes are upon thee. If we go up into heaven (glossed *sha-me-ma*), or if we descend into the earth, yet is our head (glossed *rushunu*) in thine hands. And behold! now have I sought, and I have sent my caravans by the hand of my colleagues unto

my lord the king, and the lord king shall learn that I serve the king and keep watch (over his interests).'

Another interesting image is used both by Tagi and by Yakhtiri: 'I have looked hither and I have looked thither and it is not light; and I have looked unto my lord the king and it is become clear. [And behold! I have set my face to serve my lord the king] and, though a brick may be shaken from beneath its neighbour, yet will I not be shaken from beneath the feet of (*i.e.* from my loyalty to) my lord the king.' The words in square brackets occur only in Tagi's letter. The two tablets are not of the same clay or script, and Yakhtiri, who guards Gaza and Joppa, had spent his youth in Egypt, and is here asserting his unswerving loyalty. Unfortunately there is nothing to show whether, like Tagi, he was also supporting the Habiru and was therefore presumably an associate. At all events, there is verbal identity between them, and they use a simile which reminds us of Isaiah liv, 10. Both Yakhtiri and Baal-mi'ir (? an ally of the Habiru, see p. 313) express their loyalty by saying that they lay their neck to the yoke and bear it, words which recall Jer. xxvii, 11 *sq.* A few other expressions are worthy of notice. Rib-Addi, who employs many striking words and phrases, likes to compare himself to 'a bird in a cage' (used otherwise in Jer. v, 27), and his desolate fields to a husbandless woman. He speaks of a deed that has 'not been done from eternity' (cxxii *sq.*, cf. Judg. xix, 30). Men are 'slain within a hair' (*i.e.* have hair-breadth escapes). Writing to obey the royal commands, chiefs will say: 'whoso hears not, his house is not, his strength (? life) is not'; or, 'the man who does not serve may the king curse (*arāru*).' Aki-izzi writes: 'to my lord I seek the way, from my lord I depart not,' and Aziru assures the king that Khani (an officer) will tend him 'like a mother (and) like a father.' The men of Irkata pray: 'may the king...give a present to his servants while our enemies look on and eat the dust' (c, cf. Isa. xlix, 23). Rib-Addi (cxxxvi) declares that he will die, 'if there is not another heart' to the king[1]. It is said that the king 'hates' the offending city—love and hate are the only alternatives (cclxxxvi; cf. Mal. i, 2 *sq.*). The king's 'face' is set against a man, or he 'casts down' a man's face (cclxxxi; cf. the opposite 'accept,' Gen. xix, 21), or he throws him out of his hand (cclxxxiii; cf. 1 Sam. xxv, 29).

Theoretically, at least, the vassals hold the cities for the king, and the king holds the land for his god. It is quite in accordance with this when Wenamon claims the sea and Lebanon for the

[1] Cf. 1 Sam. x, 9, also Ezek. xi, 19 (where we should read 'another heart').

god Amon. The cities belong to the king (LV) or, as in Aziru's deferential letter to Dudu, to the royal representative (CLVIII, p. 308). A city will be called the king's 'hand-maid' or 'servant.' When equals correspond each king refers to his own gods: the king of Mitanni has his god Teshub, and he calls upon Shamash and Ishtar to bless his 'brother.' But when alliance with Egypt is concerned, 'Teshub my lord and Amon' are invoked (p. 95); and in the case of his daughter's marriage he names Ishtar and Amon, and 'my gods and the gods of my brother'[1]. Similarly, in a treaty each party will have its own gods, together with all conceivable gods and spirits who were likely to be as interested in the proceedings as the chiefs, towns and districts themselves. Gods whose function it was to safeguard oaths and treaties were especially necessary (cf. also the Covenant-god of Shechem, Baal-Berith, p. 387 *sq.*). Aki-izzi of Katna distinguishes between the land of his god and that of Amenhotep's god; and Aziru, before venturing to Egypt, demands a solemn assurance that he shall not be harmed, and informs Dudu 'thou must swear by my gods and by the god A (*i.e.* Amon).' Byblus had long been famous for its great tutelary goddess; and Rib-Addi introduces her in his greetings to Yankhamu: 'the Baalath of Gubla, the goddess of the king, my lord, grant thee strength before the king, thy lord, the Sun of the lands' (CII). Writing to another official he associates with her Amana (*i.e.* Amon, XCV), who is elsewhere called the king's god (LXXI). It was perhaps immediately after the accession of Ikhnaton that he says to the king: 'the gods (*ilānu*), and the Sun-god, and the Baalath of Gubla have granted thee to sit upon the throne of thy father's house in thy land' (CXVI). Other writers are less definite: *e.g.* 'may the gods of the king my lord (protect) his cities, and the two hands of the king...may they protect all his lands' (CCCXXVI). With the help of the king's god or gods chiefs anticipate success (CCXLV); thus Itakama acknowledges the help of the king's gods and his Sun-god (CLXXXIX), and Aziru swears by the same combination: 'thy gods and Shamash know whether I was not living in Tunip' (CLXI). Oaths, it may be added, are also taken by 'the gods who are with thee' (*i.e.* the king, CCIX), or by the repetition of: 'as the king, my lord, lives' (CCLVI, cf. 2 Sam. XV, 21). The deprecatory expression is: 'the king's god forbid that...' (CCL).

The god 'Shamash' is used in the letters to represent the

[1] The erasure of the divine name Amon, which characterized Ikhnaton's iconoclasm (p. 206), is found occasionally in the letters from Mitanni, but they are to Ikhnaton's father, Amenhotep III (XIX, 76, XX, 26, 74).

Egyptian sun-god, and with him is identified the king, 'the king of the land, the great or exalted king, the king of battle' (CVIII, CXXIII, Rib-Addi). The most striking illustrations of the conception of the divine king are to be found in the letters of Abimilki of Tyre. Thus in CXLVII we read:

My lord is the Sun which goeth forth daily over the lands according to the decree of Shamash, his gracious Father, (and) which liveth by his good breath and returneth (?) after his setting, which putteth the whole land at rest by the might of (his) hand (?), which giveth his thunder like Addu in heaven and all the land quaketh (?) because of his thunder...When my lord the king said: 'Be (*kuna*) over the great host,' then said the servant unto his lord: *ia-a-ia-ia* (? 'I will be'). Upon my back (?) will I bear the command of my lord the king. He that obeyeth his lord the king and serveth him in his place, verily the Sun goeth forth over him, and the good breath (or spirit) cometh back from the mouth of his lord. And, hath he not obeyed the word of his lord, his city perisheth, his house perisheth, nought is his name in all the land for ever. Consider the servant that obeyeth his master; the prosperity of his city, the prosperity of his house, and his name (endure) for evermore. Thou art the Sun which goeth forth over me, and a wall of bronze which has been raised up (?) for him (*i.e.* for me), and because of the mighty hand of my lord the king I am at rest. Lo! I have said unto Shamash, the father of my lord, the king, 'when shall I see the face of my lord, the king?' And lo! I protect Tyre, the great city, for my lord, the king, until the mighty hand (?) of my lord, the king, comes to me in order to give water for me to drink and wood for me to warm myself...

The ideas entertained of the divine Egyptian over-lord are of great interest. He is like Addu and Shamash (letters of Rib-Addi, CVIII; Abimilki, CXLIX; Aziru, CLIX). He is Aki-izzi's Addu (LII). He is 'my Shamash, my god (*ili*), my gods (*ilāni-ia*)'[1] says Abimilki (CLI), 'my lord, my gods, my sun, the sun of heaven' declares Shipti-baal of Lachish (CCCXXXI). Among other variations we meet with 'the Sun of the Lands,' 'the son of Shamash whom Shamash (here feminine) loves' (Askalon, CCCXXIII), 'the gods of my head' (CXCVIII, from Kumid), 'my gods and sun-gods and my breath' (Shuwardata, CCLXXXI). Like so much else in the Amarna letters these expressions find parallels in old Semitic and Egyptian literature, and in what is said of the king as the Sun some knowledge of Ikhnaton's hymns may also perhaps be recognized.

Of special interest is the idea of the life-giving power of the royal Sun-god. On the monuments of Ramses III his faithful nobles address him: 'thou art Re...when thou risest the people live'; and vanquished chiefs of Amor and Libya cry 'thou art like the sun when he rises, men live at thy appearance, give us the breath which thou givest, that we may bless (using the

[1] For this use of 'gods,' cf. p. 337, and see p. 350.

Hebrew word *b-r-k*) thy double serpent-diadem, that we may speak of thy might to our sons' sons...O thou sun over Egypt, like the one which is in heaven, king Ramses.' And before this, the Hittites vanquished by Ramses II cry, 'give to us the breath that thou givest, O good ruler; lo, we are under thy sandals.' So, in the Amarna letters, while both the king and his representative can grant life and death, the king's breath is life-giving; men anxiously await it, they cannot live without it; it is the manifestation of royal favour. The city of Irkata shuts the city-gate until the king's 'breath' arrives (C); and Yapakhi of Gezer rejoices, 'since it has come to me my heart is exceeding restful.' The conception of a divine breath or spirit was widespread (cf. Ps. civ, 29 *sq.*, also Is. xi, 4, Ezek. xxxvii, 14): Marduk was 'lord of the good breath,' and even many centuries later the king of Israel, Yahweh's anointed, could be called the 'breath' of the people's nostrils (Lam. iv, 20). No less familiar was the belief in the efficacy of the Name. Shumu-khadi's name is 'evil' before the king, and Rib-Addi protests that the name of Abd-Ashirta, the dog, should not be mentioned before the king, the Sun (LXXXV). Abimilki expresses the view that the name of the good endures for ever but that of the bad is destroyed. The king's name spreads fear everywhere (CXLIX). While Rib-Addi appeals to the king's prestige and reputation (cf. Deut. ix, 27 *sq.*, Josh. vii, 9), Abdi-Khiba declares that, because he has set his name upon Jerusalem for ever, the city cannot be neglected (CCLXXXVII; cf. Jer. xiv, 9). More striking is his statement: 'See! the king my lord has set his name at the rising of the sun and at the setting of the sun' (CCLXXXVIII); it is a conception of universal sway which, starting from an imperialist monotheism, subsequently finds a parallel in the religious universalism of Mal. i, 11.

From the foregoing it is obvious that to see the king's eyes (CCLXXXVI) or, more generally, his face, might have a deeper meaning. The 'face' may connote the intention, as when Addu-karradu has no other 'face' than to serve the king (CCL). Rib-Addi, whose face is 'friendly towards the king,' would fain enter and see the king's face (CXLVIII); he has directed his face towards the glory of the king and would see his gracious face (CLI). Similarly, Aziru, whose face is upon the king's servants, would see the shining face of the king (CLXV). Biblical ideas of 'face' or 'presence' will be at once recalled. Important envoys might have the honour of eating in the presence of the divine king—at least Burraburiash has to explain an apparent discourtesy as due to his illness (VII); and with the frequent representations of a sacred ceremonial meal

on the Hittite sculptures may be associated certain later religious ideas (*e.g.* the cup of Yahweh) and the remarkable sacrificial meal on Mt Sinai (Exod. xxiv).

The king was the religious and legal head. Burraburiash holds Ikhnaton responsible for the murder of his traders by the Canaanites: 'kill them and avenge (lit. 'bring back') their blood' (VIII). The king of Alashiya is held responsible for the attacks upon Egypt by his men and their piratical Lycian allies; but to remedy his own grievances he in turn applies to the king of Egypt. The prince of Dor would have compensated Wenamon for his losses had the thief been one of his men. All this is in accordance with the custom that the authorities of a district are responsible for offences committed within their realm; so, the city or district governor in Hammurabi's code (XXIII *sq.*, see vol. I, p. 514), the 'elders' in the more primitive conditions of Israel (Deut. xxi), or the sheikh of to-day. The kings expected to be honoured or magnified by one another (XXVI, cf. 1 Sam. xv, 30). They receive the homage of their vassals who, as depicted on the Egyptian monuments, cry 'salaam!' and 'bless (*b-r-k*)' them (cf. 2 Sam. xiv, 22, R.V.). Intrigue is 'sin,' and Abdi-Khiba, declaring his loyalty and innocence, asserts that he is 'righteous' (*ṣaduḳ*, CCLXXXVII, see below, p. 398).

Religious and political ideas were closely interwoven. Oaths were taken in the king's name in Egypt and Babylonia; and when the Amorite Banti-shinna is charged with uttering curses against Babylonia he must clear himself before the gods of his suzerain, Hattushil, and in the presence of an envoy of the offended country. Under oriental religious monarchism the extension of land and that of the national god and of his royal representative were one. Hence we can understand the significance of nature-gods (sun, storm, etc.), who were, as such, not restricted to any one land or people. Ramses II states that he brands the whole land with the god's name, and he assures his dead father, 'I tell of thy valour when I am in a foreign country and make offerings to thee.' This king erected a statue of his majestic self at Tunip, a city which had early relations with Thutmose III, who seems to have built a temple there (cf. p. 88 *sq.*). The men of Tunip (p. 308) appear to refer to the presence of the king's gods (LIX). At the other end of Palestine, at the southern extremity of Canaan (Pe-Kanan, p. 169), Ramses III built a temple 'like the horizon of heaven which is in the sky,' containing a great statue of the god to which 'the Asiatics came bearing tribute before it, for it was divine.' The custom has an earlier illustration when Senusret I set up his statue at the

boundary of Nubia, that the people might prosper through it and fight for it. East of the Jordan, and on the very border of debatable land, both Seti I and Ramses leave their monuments; and the entrance of the 'Dog River' (Nahr el-Kelb), north of Beirut in Phoenicia, became the most famous of boundary marks (cf. p. 250). Kadesh itself, to the south of Palestine, an ancient boundary city, was also a sacred place, as its name indicates; but that the two cities of the north named Kadesh also marked boundaries can only be conjectured[1]. Various cities were assigned to one or other of the Egyptian kings; and Merneptah had a city in the district of 'Aram' (an error for 'Amor'), and also a well which, it has been ingeniously conjectured, appears in the 'fountain of Merneptah' on the borders of Judah and Benjamin (Josh. xv, 9; for 'the waters of [*mē*] Nephtoah'). Long before this, however, Thutmose III had dedicated three cities to Amon (Nuges, Yenoam and Herenkeru [?]). The customary method of manifesting loyalty was by burning incense—at Karnak an Asiatic is represented in the act—hence the biblical denunciation of burning incense to other gods than Yahweh (Hos. iv, 13). How salutary obedience to the king and his god was deemed to be is typically expressed in Wenamon's assurance to Zakar-baal that in doing the will of Amon is life and prosperity, 'and thou shalt be pleasant to thy whole land and thy people.'

No doubt when the gods were 'witnesses' to a treaty some symbol would be necessary, corresponding to Joshua's holy stone at the covenant-ceremony at Shechem (Josh. xxiv, 27, cf. Gen. xxxi, 51–54, 2 Kings xi, 14). The gods could journey in the person of their images; and the Mitannian Ishtar of Nineveh declared her will in the words, 'to the land (Egypt) that I love will I go, I will travel around in it.' So also, when Amon-Re, 'king of gods,' says to Wenamon's lord, 'send me,' the 'human envoy' set out bearing 'this great god' in the shape of his envoy 'Amon of the way.' The god himself thus has an envoy (cf. the 'angel' or 'messenger of Yahweh'), and Wenamon must embark from Byblus by night so that no other eye should see the sacred object. In view of these facts it is possible that the images concerning which the kings of Mitanni, etc., write to Egypt are those of the gods or of the sacred kings—that is to say, just as gods witness the treaties, and as, later, kings would recognize the

[1] In the original text of 2 Sam. xxiv, 6, Kadesh seems to have been the boundary between Israel and the (later) Hittites. A *maṣṣēbāh*, or sacred stone, marked the boundary of Aram and Israel in Gilead (Gen. xxxi, 45), and apparently also the boundary of Egypt (Is. xix, 19).

gods of other countries (cf. Solomon, 1 Kings xi, 7 *sq.*), so, earlier, alliances and inter-relations were symbolized or enhanced by the presence of images of the gods or of their divine representatives.

VIII. THE DEITIES

Abundant evidence for the prevalence of Egyptian religious ideas in Palestine is afforded by the innumerable seals and scarabs, and by representations of Osiris, Isis, Ptah, Anubis, Sebek, Bes (with moulds), Hathor, etc., no less than by the presence of Egyptian colonies, their traces in the shape of tombs (Gezer); the remains of actual temples (Byblus, Gezer), incense-burners, etc. At Shihāb Seti I is seen offering a libation to Amon, behind whom stands the goddess Mut (p. 319). To judge from the workmanship the place was the seat of a colony under an Egyptian official. Regard was, however, paid by Egyptian officials to the native gods. An officer of Thutmose III records that he offered sacrifice to a Lebanon goddess, and on the so-called 'Stone of Job' in Hauran Ramses II pays homage to some local god. Aki-izzi of Katna seems to ask Amenhotep III to honour his Sun-god (LV, 56–66); and it is appropriate to observe that, later, when Esarhaddon restored the gods which Sennacherib had captured from Hazael of Aribi, he wrote on them his name, thus endorsing or acknowledging them. The cult of Hathor frequently blended with that of local goddesses, for example, at Byblus and at Serabit (in the Sinaitic Peninsula); and at the latter place the local 'lady of turquoise' was venerated by the Egyptian turquoise-seekers, as naturally as was any local or functional *baal* or *baalath* upon whom the products of nature were supposed to depend (vol. I, p. 209). Not only did Egyptian and Semitic thought share much in common, but a considerable amount of religious syncretism (as was only to be expected) is proved by the archaeology of Syria (*e.g.* the figurines of Astarte, seals, etc.). All the evidence at our disposal points to a well-organized and highly-developed system of belief and practice in Syria; and it is legitimate, on the basis of the comparative and psychological study of religion, to supplement, with due caution, our scanty knowledge of religious conditions in Syria. (For Ikhnaton's reform see below, p. 399 *sq.*)

The phraseology of the Syrian letters to the Egyptian divine king throws considerable light upon the contemporary religious or politico-theological ideas. The institution of the divine kingship was known throughout Egypt and south-west Asia, and the traces of it in the Old Testament indicate that it must have been

familiar to the Hebrews. Throughout there are similar fundamental ideas of the effective relationship between (*a*) land or people, (*b*) the national or other god, and (*c*) the king or other representative of the god. Thus, Egyptian texts of the XIXth Dynasty represent Ramses II as husband of Egypt, the cause of the land's fruitfulness; he is Re, lord of food, plentiful in grain, and producer of rain. Ramses III calls himself the great harvest goddess, the abundant Nile. There was a general underlying similarity of thought, with numerous local and national variations (see vol. I, p. 213). Moreover, certain Babylonian myths were found among the Amarna letters (*viz.* of Adapa, and of Ereshkigal); and traces of Babylonian and other myths subsequently recur in the O.T. Many of the seals unearthed in Palestine point unmistakably to a lively world of ideas. Tablets discovered at Gezer depict, among other objects, sun, moon, star, serpent, fish, crab, scorpion, and apparently an ear of corn and a bucket (Aquarius?). These are possibly emblems of gods, similar to those on the Kassite boundary-stones (vol. I, pp. 566 *sq.*). If 318 (the number of days of the moon's visibility in the lunar year) is, as has been suggested, an old astral *motif*, it occurs not only as the number of Abraham's followers in his battle against Chedorlaomer (Gen. xiv, 14), but the daughter of Shuttarna of Mitanni came to Amenhotep with 317 female attendants; and if Abdi-Khiba's caravan captured at Aijalon really numbered 318 (so, possibly, in CCLXXXVII), we may assume that it became a 'stock' figure.

When the temple of Ramses III in Syria is likened to 'the horizon of heaven which is in the sky,' the present scanty archaeological evidence for early temples must be supplemented by the indications in the O.T. of solar and other *motifs* in connection with the temple of Jerusalem itself. Temples required their attendants, and Zakar-baal of Byblus was in the act of sacrificing to his gods when one of his noble youths was seized with a divine frenzy and ordered Wenamon and his god to be sent away. At Taanach Ishtar-washur possessed some image of the goddess Ashirat, and Guli-Addi instructed him to obtain an omen from its finger: the particular form of divination can only be conjectured. In Egypt itself, and later in Syria, the nodding of the god's image was one of the means employed. In some cases rooms with secret chambers appear to have been used for oracular responses: an underground cavern presumably for such a purpose was found at Gezer (cf. also below, p. 576).

The relation between the king and the national god (or gods) finds its analogy in that between the chief and the gods of his

tribe or district. The conception of an appropriate protective deity is well exemplified in the silver tablet accompanying the Hittite-Egyptian Treaty, where the Hittite king and queen are represented embraced by a god and goddess respectively (p. 149 *sq.*). Rib-Addi of Byblus venerated the Baalath, or tutelary goddess of the city, whose devotees are perhaps mentioned (LXXXIII, 54). Apparently he also had his Tammuz, the later Adonis (LXXXIV, 33), and in centuries to come the death of Adonis was annually bewailed at the sanctuary of Astarte in Byblus. As already noticed, Rib-Addi names Shamash (CXIII), and couples with Baalath the Egyptian king's god Amon, giving the first place to the latter. He tells how, in his despair, he had proposed to flee to Egypt with his gods, and with all that belonged to the Baalath (CXXIX, CXXXII), and he records that the gods of Byblus were angry, and that he had confessed (lit. 'opened,' contrast Prov. xxviii, 13) his sins to them (CXXXVII). The gods even desert the city (CXXXIV, 10)—just as in later days Yahweh left Jerusalem at its fall, and returned to it at the restoration after the Exile.

The Baalath of Gebal, long known in Egypt, was not the only Asiatic or Syrian deity whose prominence is attested by Egyptian references (see p. 159, cf. p. 154 *sq.*). The war-god Resheph is represented in Egypt armed with shield, spear, battle-axe and quiver; he is a 'lord of heaven,' and is bearded. He wears a conical helmet (or otherwise a fillet), which is ornamented with the head of some goat-like animal with horns projecting forward. Valiant officers of Ramses III are likened to Resheph-gods. (In later times Resheph was identified with Apollo.) The name of his consort (*A-t-m*) seems to be combined with the Sun-god Shamash in a north-Palestinian town (Shemesh-Edom, or the like) mentioned by Thutmose III and Amenhotep II (p. 89). Both Resheph and his consort are mentioned along with 'the high god' and his wife Neker (*i.e.* Nin-kal, 'the great lady'), and with Anath. Anath, already met with under the Hyksos (vol. I, p. 233), had her priesthood at Thebes in the time of Thutmose III; she is represented enthroned with spear and shield in the right hand, and in the left a battle-axe. Or she stands clad in a panther skin, holding the papyrus-sceptre and emblem of life; her crown of feathers sometimes has a pair of horns at the base. Anath, who is often coupled with Astarte, was evidently regarded by the conquering Pharaohs as the great war-goddess of Syria. The goddess Kadesh ('holy') was assimilated in Egypt to Hathor. She stands nude upon a lion, holding in her left hand a hydra and in the right the spica; her heavy tresses are sometimes surmounted by the sun-

disk between two horns. She is called lady of heaven, mistress of the gods; and formed a triad with Resheph, and with Min (Tammuz-Adonis), the old harvest-deity and god of reproduction.

Astarte (O.T. Ashtoreth) herself had a place in several Egyptian temples, and at Memphis, in Merneptah's day, was associated with the female counterpart of the god who gave his name to Baal-zephon near the 'Red Sea' (Ex. xiv, 2), and is also later met with in Phoenicia. Not only goddess of love, Astarte was also goddess of war. Depicted with the head of a lioness she drives her chariot over the foe; she is 'mistress of horses and lady of chariots.' In the Amarna letters Astarte coalesces with Ashirat, as is seen in the varying forms of the name of the Amorite Abdi-Ashirta (Ashrati, Ashtarti). In Ashirat we have the typical goddess of the west, known long before as the wife of the king of heaven; while in Arabia she was the wife of the moon-god. Her spouse, the god Amor, who has the same name as the land and people (vol. 1, p. 231), is mentioned in a Babylonian list of gods as the god of the Sutu. The masculine form Ashir may possibly be identified with that of the great god Ashur himself (*loc. cit.*). In Israel Asherah (as the Ashērah or tree-trunk) and Astarte (the biblical Ashtoreth) became closely associated with the cult of Yahweh, but for the presence of this god there is as yet no clear evidence.

The gods of the *Sa.Gaz* and of the Habiru are invoked in the Hittite treaties with Mattiuaza of Mitanni and with Teitte of Nukhashshi, respectively, but none are named. A *god* Habiru is also known; cf. the god and tribe Gad, and Amor (above). The ordinary term El, 'god,' was of course familiar, and the age of Ramses III furnishes the name El-ram, 'El is high' (cf. the O.T. Jeho-ram), and a Palestinian place-name which has been conjecturally interpreted as Levi-El, though this is more doubtful. Very familiar is the term Baal, whose fundamental meaning is, perhaps, not owner, but rather producer, functionary, *genius* (see vol. 1, p. 207 *sq.*). In the Amarna letters Baal appears in some compound names (B.-ya, B.-mi'ir, Amur-B., Mut-B., Pu-B., Shipti-B.). It interchanges with Addu (*i.e.* Adad, or the later Hadad), the famous god of storm, thunder, rain and war (vol. 1, p. 231 *sq.*). But strangely enough Addu is not among the foreign gods accepted by Egypt, although he belongs to a widespread type of god with various specific names (Hadad, Ramman, Teshub, etc., cf. also p. 613). It is possible, therefore, that the god Sutekh (Set), who took firm root in Egypt from the time of the Hyksos, strictly corresponds to Addu. The name of Baal, although found in the Hyksos period (vol. 1, p. 233), does not become

prominent in Egypt until the XIXth and XXth Dynasties, when Ramses II and III are specially likened to 'the Baal' (with the definite article). Baal is then the thundering, roaring god of war, before whom prisoners are slain that the king may live for ever. The king is like Sutekh, and Baal is in his limbs; or, he is Set, and Baal is in his body. He is as Baal in his hour (*i.e.* of manifestation). He is 'his real son for ever,' his wrath is 'like Baal in heaven'; and Amon-Re declares to Ramses III: 'I overthrow for thee every land, when they see thy majesty in strength, like my son, Baal in his wrath.' Baal, it is obvious, was one of the most prominent of gods, if not in the Amarna period, at least in the following age. On the other hand, the name of the god Hadad, although not unknown in Palestine—it is combined with the similar god Rimmon in connection with Megiddo, the most notorious of all battle-fields (Zech. xii, 11)—becomes more prominent outside Palestine, in Edom and Syria. Moreover, it is highly significant that the collector of tribute under the Israelite kings David and Solomon is called Adoni-ram, 'the lord is high,' or 'Adoram (Hadoram), the latter representing Addu-ram, 'Addu is high.' Further, Hadoram is also the alternative name of David's adversary Joram ('Yahu is high'), the son of To'i of Hamath (cf. Tagi, above, p. 310, n.). Thus, there is an interchange of divine names, just as later, in the time of Sargon, a king of Hamath is called varyingly Yau-bi'di or Ilu-bi'di, the specific Yahu (Yahweh) interchanging with the neutral Ilu ('god') as it does, for example, in the biblical names Jeho-iakim and El-iakim. This interrelation between Addu and Yahweh is entirely in harmony with the fact that Addu (Hadad), Baal and Yahweh had much in common.

Although the names Addu, Baal and Yahweh thus stand out above the rest, the last-mentioned has not yet been clearly traced in Syria and Palestine. Some scholars identify with it Ya (and the feminine Ya-tum, Ya-u-ti) found in early Babylonian and Kassite names; but the Palestinian place-name Batiya (mentioned by Thutmose III) is hardly Beth-Yah, 'house of Yahweh.' On the other hand, the name of Akhi-yawi, in one of the Taanach letters, may more safely be cited as an older form of the biblical Ahijah (Akhi-yah), 'Yahweh is brother.' It is certainly noteworthy that in his letter to Ishtar-washur—the divine name Ishtar could equally well be read Astarte, Ashirat, etc.—he invokes 'the lord of the gods' (cf. p. 337). Moreover, he has some obscure reference to 'one who is over my head,' who of course may be not a god, but some official. If this name is proof that the god

Yahweh was already known in Palestine, he has not the prominence of the other gods; nor can it be determined whether, as has also been argued, he was a moon-god. The existence of moon-cults has, moreover, been inferred from—among other details—the names Jericho and Sin (Sinai), the latter being the name of the famous god especially connected with Ur and Harran, with both of which the Hebrews are traditionally associated (vol. I, p. 234).

The existence of other gods—Dagon, Ninurta, Melek, to mention only three—is suggested by the proper names in the Amarna letters. But the difference between the Amarna and later periods shows itself most markedly in the disappearance of Addu, and the later prominence of Yahweh, together with the persistence of Baal. The name of Yahweh, in fact, appears to have replaced that of Addu.

An international age fostered a religious internationalism (cf. p. 485). Moreover tendencies to monotheism, or rather monolatry, appear in the Amarna age, in Palestine and Syria, as elsewhere (pp. 110 *sq.*, 203 *sq.*, 205 *sq.*). They are due to the desire to simplify and co-ordinate the many local, national and functional gods, and to the endeavour to recognize some supreme god or king of gods, corresponding to the great king who rules over a number of lesser kings or chiefs. Moreover, the plural *ilānu* ('gods') is used in the same amplifying and summarizing sense as the Hebrew Elōhīm; and it is employed (*a*) absolutely without further specification (*e.g.* XCVI, 4 *sq.*, 'may God ask [in the singular] thy peace'), or (*b*) in combination with some particular god (see p. 400), and (*c*) by Abimilki of Tyre, and others, as a title of the Egyptian king (see p. 341). The rise of Yahwism as the *national* religion thus constitutes the outstanding feature of Palestinian history—*after the Amarna age*.

While the sun-gods from Egypt to Asia Minor and Babylonia could be identified with one another, there are some traces of a sun-goddess in early Arabia and in a letter from Askalon (above, p. 341). Also among the Hatti the sun-goddess of Arinna 'sends kingship and queenship,' and is evidently the patroness of the dynasty—before her was placed a copy of the treaty between Shubbiluliuma and Mattiuaza (p. 271). Whether some sweeping social, historical or ethnical changes are involved in this variation of sex can hardly be determined; but that some profound differences made themselves felt is evident on other grounds. Thus, it is noteworthy that, as distinct from astral features, characteristic animal features insist on manifesting themselves in the repre-

sentation and symbolism of the gods. Different religious levels are recognizable as we pass from the priestly and ruling circles to the simpler classes with their rude amulets and charms, their innumerable realistic and often syncretistic models of some mother-goddess, or the ever-popular Bes. The Egyptian king, who is likened to Baal, is also like a bull; and the bull-symbol is inveterate, whether it is Hadad that stands upon the bull, or whether the bull is subsequently associated in one form or another with the Phoenician Baal or the Israelite Yahweh. As a symbol of strength, virility and fierceness the bull enters naturally into conceptions of divine and kingly might, for it is imperative that both the god and the king should be in possession of all the attributes necessary for the welfare of their loyal subjects and worshippers. It is for this reason that, in order to simplify and co-ordinate, gods are compounded (Amon-Re), or their characteristics are transferred from one to the other. Especially noteworthy is the combination of Shamash and Addu. The Egyptian king is compared by his Syrian vassals to both Shamash and Addu; Wenamon tells how the Sun-god Amon 'thunders' in the heavens; the Assyrian king Ashur-naṣir-pal (ninth century) prominently couples in his invocation Shamash and Addu; and, finally, in the ancient Assyrian royal name Shamshi-Adad, the attributes of the two are merged into one being. Fusion of this nature is inevitable if a god is to become supreme over others; and it is on this account that, in the centuries that follow, reforming movements arose to purify the composite ideas that prevailed touching the character and nature of the supreme Israelite god Yahweh.

In the religion of Syria and Palestine, then, we should expect to find the foregoing tendencies and their consequences; and, indeed, when we come to the later period, the gulf between the general religious ideas and those of this earlier period is not wide. Some general parallels have already been noticed. Certain changes do indeed make themselves felt, and the ages following that of the Amarna letters witnessed some profound historical developments. But we shall then find ourselves looking at the history through other eyes. It is necessary, therefore, to observe that under Ramses III Palestine and Syria were still tributary, and that even Zakar-baal, with all his independence, is not entirely oblivious to the claims of Egypt's god (cf. p. 193). Certain ways of life and thought had become infixed from of old in a land which was in many essential respects one with the surrounding powers.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Abh.	Abhandlungen.
Abh. K.M.	Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.
A.J.A.	American Journal of Archaeology.
A.J. Ph.	American Journal of Philology.
A.J.S.L.	American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures.
Anc. Eg.	Ancient Egypt.
A.S.A.E.	Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Égypte.
Ath. Mitt.	Mitteilungen des deutschen arch. Inst., Athenische Abteilung.
B. z. Ass.	Beiträge zur Assyriologie und semitischen Sprachwissenschaft.
B.C.H.	Bulletin de Correspondance hellénique.
B.I.C.	Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale au Caire.
Bay. S.B.	Sitzungsberichte d. bayerischen Akad. d. Wissenschaften.
Berl. S.B.	Sitzungsberichte d. preuss. Akad. d. Wissenschaften zu Berlin.
Biblica	Biblica. Commentarii editi a Pontificio Instituto Biblico, Roma.
B.S.A.	Annual of the British School at Athens.
B.S.R.	Papers of the British School at Rome.
Bull. d. I.	Bullettino dell' Instituto.
C.A.H.	Cambridge Ancient History.
C.I.G.	Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum.
C.I.L.	Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.
C.I.S.	Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum.
C.J.	Classical Journal.
C.Q.	Classical Quarterly.
C.R.	Classical Review.
C.R. Ac. Inscr.	Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions.
D.B.	Dictionary of the Bible (J. Hastings, Edinburgh, 1898).
E. Bi.	Encyclopaedia Biblica.
E. Brit.	Encyclopaedia Britannica. Ed. XI.
E.H.R.	English Historical Review.
E.R.E.	Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics.
ʼΕφ. ʼΑρχ.	ʼΕφημερὶς ʼΑρχαιολογική.
F.H.G.	C. Müller, Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum.
G.G.A.	Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen.
Geogr. Z.	Geographische Zeitschrift.
Head H.N.	Head, Historia Numorum, 2nd Ed. 1912.
Herm.	Hermes.
I.G.F.	Indogermanische Forschungen.
J.A.O.S.	Journal of the American Oriental Society.
J.A.	Journal Asiatique.
J.B.S.	Journal of Biblical Studies.
J.D.A.I.	Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts.
J.E.A.	Journal of Egyptian Archaeology.
J.H.S.	Journal of Hellenic Studies.
J. Man. E.O.S.	Journal of the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society.
J.R.A.I.	Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute.
J.R.A.S.	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
J.R.S.	Journal of Roman Studies.

J.S.O.R.	Journal of the Society of Oriental Research.
K.A.H.	Keilinschrifttexte aus Assur historischen Inhalts.
Klio.	Klio (Beiträge zur alten Geschichte).
Liv. A.A.	Liverpool Annals of Archaeology.
M.B.B.A.	Monatsbericht der Berliner Akademie.
M.D.O.G.	Mitteilungen der deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft.
M.D.P.V.	Mitteilungen des deutschen Palästinavereins.
M.V.A.G.	Mitteilungen der vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft.
Mon. d. I.	Monumenti Antichi dell' Instituto.
N.J. Kl. Alt.	Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum.
N.J.P.	Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie.
N.S.A.	Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità (Atti d. r. Accad. dei Lincei).
Num. Chr.	Numismatic Chronicle.
Num. Z.	Numismatische Zeitschrift.
O.L.Z.	Orientalistische Literaturzeitung.
P.E.F.	Palestine Exploration Fund.
Phil.	Philologus.
P.S.B.A.	Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology.
P.W.	Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft.
Πρ.	Πρακτικά.
Q.S.	Quarterly Statement(s).
Rec. Trav.	Recueil de Travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptienne et assyrienne.
Rev. A.	Revue archéologique.
Rev. Ass.	Revue d'Assyriologie.
Rev. Bib.	Revue biblique internationale.
Rev. Eg.	Revue égyptologique.
Rev. E.G.	Revue des études grecques.
Rev. H.	Revue historique.
Rev. N.	Revue numismatique.
Rh. Mus.	Rheinisches Museum für Philologie.
Riv. Fil.	Rivista di Filologia.
Riv. N.O.	Rivista nuova orientale.
Röm. Mitth.	Mitteilungen des deutschen arch. Inst., Römische Abteilung.
R.V.	Revised Version.
R.V. mg.	Revised Version margin.
S.B.	Sitzungsberichte.
Syria.	Syria: Revue d'art oriental et d'archéologie.
T.S.B.A.	Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology.
Wien S.B.	Sitzungsberichte d. Akad. d. Wissenschaften in Wien.
Wien St.	Wiener Studien.
W.Z.K.M.	Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.
Z.A.	Zeitschrift für Assyriologie.
Z. Aeg.	Zeitschrift für aegyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde.
Z.A.T.W.	Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft.
Z.D.M.G.	Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft.
Z.D.P.V.	Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins.
Z.E.	Zeitschrift für Ethnologie.
Z.G. f. E.	Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde.
Z.N.	Zeitschrift für Numismatik.

CHAPTER XIII

SYRIA AND PALESTINE IN THE LIGHT OF EXTERNAL EVIDENCE

1. Texts

The Amarna tablets. Indispensable and superseding all earlier editions is the voluminous work of J. A. Knudtzon (with Otto Weber and Erich Ebeling): Die El-Amarna-Tafeln, i. texts, ii. notes and indexes. Leipzig, 1915.

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